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THE SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY IN THE MODERN WORLD

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(THE) SPREAD *of* CHRISTIANITY IN THE MODERN WORLD

By

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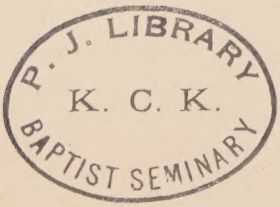
TO
MY COLLEAGUES
WITH WHOM I HAVE SERVED FOR TWENTY YEARS
IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE
AMERICAN BOARD



PREFATORY NOTE

I delivered in October and November, 1913, in Mansfield College, Oxford, the Dale Lectures on "The Expansion of Christendom and the Naturalization of Christianity in the Orient in the Nineteenth Century." The book was finished in 1915. Its publication has been delayed because of the war. The publisher has consented that certain general considerations which are elaborated in that book shall appear in brief in the introduction to this. The publishers of this book have acceded to the same request. Apart from the statement of their common point of view which is thus provided for, it is hoped that the two books may serve as complementary the one to the other. This book attempts a survey of the history of missions since the beginning of the modern era. It aims to depict the missionary movement against the background of general history. It seeks to present an outline of the main facts so far as this is possible within so small a compass. The other book assumes knowledge of the facts, both those which relate to the spread of the influence of European civilization and as well those which directly concern the propaganda for the Christian religion. It proposes to interpret this history and to discuss the philosophical and religious principles involved.

EDWARD CALDWELL MOORE

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.
August 18, 1918

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PART I

GENERAL OUTLINE

CHAPTER I

THE EXPANSION OF CHRISTENDOM

CHAPTER I

THE EXPANSION OF CHRISTENDOM

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CHAPTER I

THE EXPANSION OF CHRISTENDOM

1. *Periodicity in the Christian movement.*—It might be supposed that the obligation of Christians for the dissemination of their faith would have been felt by the more ardent and responsible among them at all times and in every place. The history of Christianity shows that this has been by no means the case. There have been periods in which the enthusiasm for the carrying of the gospel of Jesus to those who had it not was a conspicuous trait of Christian mind and life. Such eras of missionary activity have alternated, however, with others in which even the most zealous piety took quite another form. There have been ages in which propaganda for Christianity among new peoples practically ceased. There have been centuries during which the boundaries of Christendom were not enlarged. At times even the area won for the faith by earlier efforts was diminished.

2. *Relation to other world-movements.*—These eras of stationariness or of retrogression are not always to be ascribed to a diminution of the vitality of the Christian movement. Ages of arrest in the expansion of Christendom have sometimes been those in which high vitality was absorbed in a different task. The energy of the movement was taken up in the consolidation of gains already made. Races won for nominal Christianity were being slowly assimilated to its spirit. Christianity was undergoing a gradual adjustment to the

culture and civilization of these races. It was becoming naturalized and nationalized among them. They were being Christianized and not merely evangelized. There is thus something altogether normal in this alternation which has marked the Christian advance. There is a close relation of this periodicity in the expansion of Christendom to other world-movements. The relation of missionary endeavor to contemporary conditions, political and commercial, social and intellectual, is one which in the history of the Christian movement has not always been sufficiently emphasized. It is one of the purposes of this book to set forth that relation.

3. *The first period.*—Broadly speaking, the first three centuries of the Christian movement were characterized by a great enthusiasm for the dissemination of the faith. The Christian passion was evangelism, the telling of the message of redemption. Before the end of this period the gospel had been preached everywhere in the basin of the Mediterranean and in the western parts of the ancient Asiatic empires. The spread of the influence and teachings of Jesus was, however, in the earliest period, owing in but small part to men whom we should call missionaries. It was the achievement of men of every trade and occupation and of every order in society. Soldiers, scholars, travelers, even slaves, carried to the farthest limits of the empire that secret of the inner life, that new attitude toward the world, which in their experience constituted salvation. The means of communication in the empire facilitated such a movement. Other oriental religions had spread in much the same way. Something like a uniformity of law, language, and civilization obtained at that time within the limits of

the empire in a manner which has had no parallel in the world until our own day.

4. *Characteristics of Christianity in this period.*—The new religious movement, great as was its ultimate effect upon the classic civilization, was of itself world-shy. It was not primarily a new doctrine or culture. It was hostile to many aspects of the current civilization. That civilization was profoundly hostile to it. It did not seek to establish a new world-order. It sought rather to flee the world and to prepare its votaries for another and better existence. It was profoundly convinced of the approaching end of the present world-order. It believed in the sudden and miraculous setting up of a new world-order. It was a gospel of the inner life. It was a message from a despised corner of the earth to a world in which a high and self-conscious civilization already prevailed. Only gradually did Christianity become conscious of itself as a principle for the transformation of this present life and world. Only slowly did it gather adherents from among the cultivated and powerful. Not till the end of the period of which we speak did it cease to be the faith of a persecuted sect and become one of the religions acknowledged by the Roman state.

5. *The first era of arrest.*—The decline of the Roman Empire, the invasions of the barbarians, the natural development of the church as a great institution, caused the church in some sense to take the place of the decaying empire. The demoralization of the ancient world, the necessity of training the new northern peoples who had seized upon its mastery, set the church which was now an organized and self-conscious hierarchy a new task. That task was no longer the enlargement of the boundaries of

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nominal Christendom beyond the basin of the Mediterranean. It was that of the Christianization both of the peoples of the ancient civilization and of the new elements which were found in such strange admixture in all the lands which bordered upon the inland sea. It was the problem of making a really Christian world out of those areas to which Christianity in name at least had been carried before the decline of the empire had begun. Meantime the church had changed its own idea as to what constituted a Christian world. It was not therefore altogether a contradiction that the missionary period of the early church ended abruptly almost at the moment when the church attained a position of outward power and influence. That the church was able in the interval between the middle of the fourth and the middle of the seventh centuries to Christianize the world even in the measure that it did and after the pattern that it chose was a very great achievement. That it was itself in startling degree secularized and assimilated to that world was an inevitable consequence. It was, however, a consequence of which Christians were almost wholly unaware.

6. *The second period.*—When, toward the end of the sixth century, the Christian propaganda was resumed, it had for its aim the conversion of the races of Northern and Western Europe, which had lain outside of the ancient Roman Empire or only nominally within it. The emissaries of the gospel went out from three centers. Southern Russia and the Balkan Peninsula were evangelized from Constantinople. Germany and the Low Countries, northern Gaul and Britain, ultimately also Denmark and Norway and Sweden received most of

their emissaries from Rome. A portion of this area was, however, the field of devout labor on the part also of Celtic monks, who represented a British Christianity antedating the dissolution of the ancient province of Britain. The conversion of the Northern European races to Christianity brought gains to Christendom which in some measure offset the tremendous losses suffered through the conquest of the old seats of Christian faith and civilization in Northern Africa, in Syria and Asia Minor, in Persia, and in the valley of the Euphrates by the forces of Islam. It completed that occidentalizing of Christianity which had been in progress ever since the western journeys of St. Paul.

7. *Characteristics of the second period.*—In striking contrast with the method of the earlier era the men engaged in this grand mission to the Northern European races were almost invariably ecclesiastics. They were the agents of a highly organized institution of religion. They were priests, indeed in large part they were monks. They represented an ascetic view of life, in the West at least a celibate practice, a theory of the relation of religion to the world which had come to be recognized as the superior form of piety and the more spiritual interpretation of Christianity. This theory had certainly not been put forth by Jesus nor by the earliest church. Nevertheless, such were the needs of the peoples among whom these monks and missionaries went that, in spite of their view of the relation of religion to the world, they became practically everywhere teachers of the elements of culture, exponents in these new fields of an old and high civilization. They became the founders of a

world-order. In large part they determined the political and economic, the intellectual and social and moral characteristics which are familiar to us as those of Europe in the Middle Ages. They preserved and transmitted a learning which was fundamentally Hellenic. They perpetuated the power and order which mankind owed to the Roman genius for organization. They gave to much of the life of the Middle Ages the ecclesiastical cast which it never lost until the Renaissance.

8. *The second era of arrest.*—The period of the conversion of Northern Europe covered about four centuries. Then just as before there followed an interval of approximately four hundred years when practically no effort was made to carry the gospel to regions beyond. The Russian and Balkan area took on a religious stationariness from which it has not yet emerged. Mediaeval Europe, so religious and Christian in its own way, possessing a civilization so much more wonderful than we are apt to acknowledge, had lost almost all remembrance of a non-European world of which the classic civilization had been so well aware. The East, which it vividly realized, was only the margin of Islam, the region in which it had conducted the wars of the Crusades. Those wars themselves had built a barrier between the West and the Near East which has begun to crumble only in modern times. The Far East, India, China, Japan, and even Africa were almost a realm of legend. They were nearly as much unknown as if they had been on another planet. Little islands of Greek and Eastern Christianity still stood out above the rising tide of Mohammedanism. Constantinople remained until 1453 the last bulwark against Islam. Yet, in the Fourth Crusade, Venice

betrayed Constantinople as if she had been her chief foe. Neither from Constantinople nor from the ancient churches of Syria or Asia Minor went out any effort toward regaining the East which had once been Christian. The Crusades, the European effort within this area, were the very opposite of a missionary movement.

9. *The third or modern period.*—The middle of the sixteenth century witnessed a great revival of enthusiasm in the Roman church for the spread of the faith among non-Christian peoples. Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries followed the discoverers and explorers, the conquerors and traders who in Portuguese, Spanish, and French ships traversed every sea and brought to Europe the knowledge of the lands of two hemispheres. Of this movement navigators and traders had been the precursors since the middle of the fifteenth century. Their aims had been those of conquest and commerce. These adventurers had claimed continents for one and another of the crowns of Europe. They had opened the way for colonial empires which were presently to enrich many European states. The world-movement which was thus ushered in ultimately brought among other things the knowledge of the gospel to every people on the earth. It was, however, primarily a secular movement. It sought to add to the domain and to the wealth of the sovereigns of Europe. It became a phase of the rivalry of European states among themselves. The exploitation alike of the ancient civilized peoples of the Far East and of the half-civilized or uncivilized aborigines of the West was but an instrumentality of the aggrandizement of the European peoples. These last had for various reasons emerged from the Middle

Ages relatively more powerful and aggressive than all other peoples of the earth.

10. *Characteristics of the period.*—The conquerors and traders of whom we speak had but little religious impulse, at all events of the sort which we should now recognize by that name. They sought, indeed, to conquer in the name of Christianity. The sovereigns whom they represented made much of these conquests for the cause of Christ. The adventurers had primarily no impulse to transform the ancient civilizations of India or China or Japan in the spirit of Christianity. In fact, the provincialism of these representatives of Christendom was such that they showed but slight comprehension of the fact that India or China had any civilization, just as they would certainly have assumed that these nations had no true religion. They had little zeal to bestow what have since been called the benefits of Christian civilization upon the nations of the Orient. Indeed, they were so intent upon conquests and profits that they showed mainly the dark side of that civilization.

11. *The Roman church.*—The priests who accompanied the adventurers had also something of the mediaeval conquerors' instinct. They planned completely to displace the indigenous faiths. They were anxious to add multitudes to the numbers of the adherents of their own church. They were eager to offset the losses which at that time the Protestant Reformation was inflicting upon their church in Europe. Yet they also left the question of the relation of the faith which they ardently preached to the civilization and culture of the peoples among whom they preached it very much on one side. They entered into easy accommodations

with those civilizations. It was long before they came to regard themselves as the emissaries of a spirit which was to be, abroad as well as at home, the secret of the transformation of every relation of man's life on earth. Without doubt this was because, in the mission fields as in the home lands, they regarded religion as having mainly to do with another world and the future life. They apprehended Christianity as a matter of creeds and rites rather than of spirit and conduct.

12. *The Protestant bodies.*—This remark would be measurably true of the earliest stages of the Protestant missionary movement when at last that movement began. The Reformation had been inaugurated some decades before the departure of Francis Xavier for India. Yet the Protestant churches sent out practically no missionaries until after the end of the seventeenth century. Protestant nations, the Dutch, the Danes, and the English, had succeeded the Latin races in the movement of conquest and trade both in the East and in the West. The Protestant peoples, however, undertook no world-evangelization on a great scale until the end of the eighteenth century. Something in their mode of apprehension of the gospel in the churches of the home lands made them also, at the first and for a long time, feel themselves to be the emissaries almost exclusively of a doctrine concerning the inner life and a future state. The full force of their gospel as a secret of the transformation of this world also has hardly begun to be felt until our own day.

13. *Changes in the colonial empires.*—Meantime the empires of conquest and trade built up by the various European powers had waxed and waned. Those of the

Latin races, except that of France, had practically vanished. Those of the Dutch and Danes had almost disappeared. That of the Russians is an episode of very modern times, at all events in its relation to Western civilization. The establishment and maintenance of these empires was marked at times by cruelties and unscrupulousness toward weaker races and by fierce rivalry among the colonizing powers. These facts brought reproach upon Christendom. Colonial empires have at times conferred great benefits upon subject peoples. They have also inflicted many and deep injuries. It is only within the last century and a quarter that any of these empires have understood it to be a part of the purpose of their existence to confer benefits upon subject peoples. The way has been opened for the gospel by secular agencies. Yet also the cause of the real gospel has been at times sorely compromised by association with these agencies.

14. *An era of world-evangelization.*—The period of this third and greatest expansion of Christendom has thus again been a little less than four hundred years The area of expansion is not now the basin of the Mediterranean. It is not the northern and western part of the little continent of Europe. In this epoch the area has been literally the whole of the habitable earth. The effort for the spread of Christianity has been, as we have said, but an episode in a far larger world-movement, a movement which has resulted in bringing the whole earth under the influence of Europe. Even so, and despite the fact that the period of intense effort for the evangelization of the world has been barely a century and a half, the task of mere evangelization

may be said to be approaching completion. In the sense merely of the proclaiming of the gospel in all lands the work is entering upon its later stages. An arrest of this mere evangelizing process parallel to that which we have already twice observed in Christian history seems near. There will soon be comparatively few men anywhere who have not had a chance of listening to the word of the grace of God as revealed in Jesus Christ. How much that avails is another question. How far we still are from the real Christianizing of the world is brought home to us with terrific force in these days of war. It sometimes seems as if we were so far from that goal within Christendom itself that we have little to say to the rest of the world. Yet even that dissemination of the word of Christianity of which we spoke and the beginning made of the transformation of men by its spirit have put practically all the nations of mankind in a position to judge between Christianity and Christendom. How vast is the task of this naturalization and nationalization of Christianity among all the races of the earth, including our own, must be obvious to anyone who thinks.

15. *The unity of history.*—These brief paragraphs serve to show that it is impossible adequately to deal with the history of the spread of Christian ideals and influence without taking cognizance of the complex relations of the religious movement to culture and civilization in general. It is not possible to depict the various stages in the advance of Christianity without reckoning with the world-situations which from time to time have called forth these zealous endeavors. The direction and characteristics of these successive efforts

have been determined by conditions over which the ardent propagandists had but little control. Decisive factors in the history of missions have often been those of which, with all their sense of a divine obligation and of the divine aid, the missionaries were not the creators—rather they in common with all the men of their time were created by these conditions. The life of the race, like the garment of Jesus, to which in a profound sense it might be compared, has always been woven all of one piece. The incarnation itself was a true entering of the divine into human life with all the temporal and local, the passing and partial, the exalted and pathetic elements which are inseparable from any historic manifestation. The gradual embodiment of the spirit of Jesus in the life of mankind in so far as it has yet been accomplished has known no other conditions.

16. *Otherworldliness.*—It has pleased the votaries of Christianity at times to seek to make another world, the world of the religious, within and in large part isolated from the world of ordinary men. So we might describe the effort of eremites and monks in every age. It has pleased enthusiasts of other eras not to make another world in this, but to seek to make for another world. So we might describe the idea of the enthusiastic martyrs in the first period, of many mystics and ascetics in all periods, and, with differences, the most otherworldly of the Protestant forefathers. The prevailing mood of our time is that which esteems that the problem is neither to make for another world nor yet to make another world in this, but through men who are being saved to make this another world. The point to be noted is that the circumstances which determined

the relative success or failure of these various endeavors were circumstances given in the life of their respective times. Not only so, but even the causes which led the representatives of the same faith at different times to set before themselves such divergent aims have always been given in the common inheritance of mankind from its past, in the dangers and duties of the present, and in the specific ideals which have possessed the minds of successive generations as to the future.

17. *Religious propaganda and modern history.*—The Christian movement is a part of the world-movement. It is part of a propaganda for European ideas which at the present moment is extremely zealous for many ideas besides those of the Christian faith. It may at times serve the purpose of scientific investigation to isolate one organ of the body under the microscope or to devote volumes to the description of one function in the body's life. Another purpose is meantime defeated if it be forgotten that the function under discussion is never operative save in connection with other functions. It pleased some of the church fathers to think of Christ's church as an ark of safety wherein a few souls were to be saved. Under a favorite image converts of the early Protestant missionaries have been described as brands plucked from the burning. For reasons which are not far to seek these images of the nature and effect of religion do not now appeal to the majority. There is every reason why there should be a specific literature of missions. It is possible, however, that to many minds an understanding of the cause of missions may be rendered easier by the effort to set forth this bit of history as but a part of the real history of the world. There is

value in the endeavor to show that the religious movement has had and now has its place within the framework of a far larger world-movement.

18. *The human factor.*—In his vision Peter's wavering purpose to carry the gospel to those who as yet had it not was reinforced by an image of living creatures let down from heaven in a sheet. In the Apocalypse the city of God is represented as coming down out of heaven. In reality Peter's missionary endeavors, in so far as we know anything about them, were very much like those of other well-wishers of mankind who have trodden, with sore and yet sure feet, the common earth. We may be as much assured as were men of old that the secret of the kingdom comes down from God, who is spirit, into the souls of men, who are spirit too. The Christian nation does not thus come down. It grows up. It is built and established by the labors of men like ourselves and under conditions which in a general way have prevailed and always will prevail in the building of cities and kingdoms. On this basis the missionary movement, despite the defects which it shares with all other human movements, becomes one of the most imposing in the history of our race. On this basis its history constitutes one of the most impressive chapters in the history of mankind.

19. *Missions and civilization.*—That which has been said applies with peculiar force to the modern era of missions. In the second period, as we have seen, the church took the initiative in a movement which resulted in the carrying of large elements of the civilization of the ancient world to all the nations of mediaeval Europe. The movement was primarily a religious movement, only

secondarily an ameliorating and educating movement, although it is true that from the first its emissaries recognized themselves as bearers of a civilization as well as of the gospel. In the third period, that with which we are to deal, the case is reversed. The religious movement has been only a part, in some respects a belated part, of a movement for an expansion of Europe into all the earth which had far different motives. That movement aimed primarily at conquest, although that conquest was to be also in the name of the church. Later, commerce became the great ideal. In its commercial stage the movement was often indifferent or even frankly hostile to the religious propaganda. Conversely, missions were often suspicious of humanitarian efforts when these began to be made, hostile to mere social and reforming aims, alienated from those who sought simply the general uplifting of mankind.

20. *Humanitarianism.*—A humane and ameliorating impulse, a desire to confer the benefits of civilization as Europeans understood these benefits, began to make itself felt in the conduct of Western nations toward the East after the middle of the eighteenth century. It coincided with that rise of enthusiasm for humanity which swept over Europe as the period of rationalism declined. It had relation to romanticism. It reflected itself in the treatment of prisoners and in the attitude toward slavery. It altered the policy of Western governments toward Eastern peoples whom they had subjected to themselves. Much of this reforming earnestness had its origin in the quickened conscience of Europe. It bore undeniable relation to the great liberal and idealistic movement of the time. It is

certain that one of the sources of the modern missionary movement was in this new feeling for humanity as a whole. Yet the advocates of many of these generous efforts on behalf of humanity accused missionaries of having neglected the whole problem of the life of man upon earth in their zeal to save his soul in heaven.

21. *Co-operation with missions.*—These two movements, which have really worked together in striking fashion to produce certain results which we see at the beginning of the twentieth century, have often worked together most unwillingly. They have served a common end, although they have often been jealous of one another while serving it. Only within the last two generations have missions thrown themselves without reserve into civilizing and ameliorating endeavor, into efforts of a social and economic and intellectual sort on behalf of those whom for three or four generations they have been seeking to evangelize. They have realized that they must touch the outward life as well. Only within the last two generations, on the other hand, have governments and commercial companies and enthusiasts for certain specific reforms rid themselves of their prejudice, often gravely unjust, against those who sought to reach the universal human problem primarily from the side of the inner life. A similar rapprochement of the two factors of religion and of the rational and humane movement in civilization, the movement of civil, social, and economic progress, has been one of the outstanding traits of the life of the European nations and of America within the same generations.

22. *Conclusion.*—It is clear therefore that we have to try to depict the modern missionary movement against

the background of the history of the modern world in general. We have to speak of many things which are supposed to lie outside of the range of the history of missions. We shall be compelled to deal with these things only in barest outline. Indeed, the history of the missionary movement itself which we are able to offer can be nothing but the barest outline. A manual like this can hardly attempt to do more than to sketch roughly that which has been accomplished at vast cost and by means of heroic consecration. It will endeavor to show, in some measure at least, the part which missions have played in making the modern world what it is. It will seek as well to show the part which the modern world with all of its manifold elements and complex tendencies has had in making modern missions what these have been and what they now are.

CHAPTER II

THE EXPANSION OF MODERN EUROPE: BEFORE THE MIDDLE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

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23. The voyages of discovery
24. Participation of Spain and Portugal
25. Participation of England, Holland, and France
26. The motive of conquest
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28. English and Dutch trade
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CHAPTER II

THE EXPANSION OF MODERN EUROPE: BEFORE THE MIDDLE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

23. *The voyages of discovery.*—The first impact of the civilization of Europe upon the ancient civilizations of the Far East, those of India, of Japan, and China, as also upon the half-civilized and uncivilized races of North and South America, came at the end of the fifteenth century. In 1492 a Genoese, Christopher Columbus, in a Spanish ship and bearing a letter to the Khan of Tartary, set out from Palos seeking India and discovered America. He landed on San Salvador. In a later voyage he reached Trinidad and other islands on the coast of South America. In 1497 another Italian, John Cabot, possibly a Genoese but long resident in Venice, sailing from Bristol, England, under the patronage of Henry VII reached Nova Scotia. In a later voyage he touched Labrador and possibly Newfoundland. In 1496 Vasco da Gama, sailing from Lisbon under the mandate of the king of Portugal, rounded the Cape of Good Hope, cruised along the southwestern and southeastern coasts of India and landed at Calicut, not far from Cochin. In 1500 Cabral, a Portuguese pupil of da Gama, made the first voyage to Brazil. All these adventurers were seeking "the East," a region of fabled wealth for the whole of which they used the vague name "India" or "The Indies." The epoch-making voyages which we have named all took place within one decade. That fact shows that several nations at the end of the

age of the Renaissance were ready to transcend the confines of Christendom, waiting to conquer territory and gain wealth for peoples quickened with thoughts and ambitions such as the Middle Ages had never known.

24. *Participation of Spain and Portugal.*—A decree of the Borgia pope, Alexander VI, sought to adjust the rivalries of Spain and Portugal by assigning all lands discovered or to be discovered west of a parallel of longitude running a hundred miles west of the Azores to the Spaniards and those east of that parallel to the Portuguese. His decree is in more ways than one a curiosity. Nevertheless, it had significant effect for the development both of the Western Hemisphere and of European empires in the Far East. At the end of the sixteenth century the sea power and colonial empires of both Spaniards and Portuguese began to decline. After the defeat of the Armada in 1588 the English were able to gain freedom for their commerce both in the West and in the East, a commerce the beginnings of which had been made almost a century before.

25. *Participation of England, Holland, and France.*—By the middle of the seventeenth century the Dutch were rivals with the English for trade on all seas and colonial possessions on the margin of every continent. In 1605 the French under Champlain had established Quebec and laid the foundations of what was to be called "New France." French explorers and adventurers, fur traders, and priests ascended the valley of the St. Lawrence to the basin of the Great Lakes and the headwaters of the Mississippi. They descended this river to New Orleans. They named a region which had practically no boundaries, save perhaps the Appalachians on its

eastern side, "Louisiana." Spaniards from Florida and from regions which are now Texas and Mexico had already pushed westward in similar fashion to the Pacific Coast. Later they moved northward nearly as far as the present northern boundary of California. Portuguese, in spite of the pope's edict, had entered Brazil and made the valley of the Amazon and the great plains to the south of it part of a Portuguese world-empire; likewise the Spaniards had gone eastward to the Philippines. Even smaller European states, like Denmark, had established centers of trade on Iceland and Greenland and the West Indies and on both coasts of India and the Malay Peninsula.

26. *The motive of conquest.*—Everywhere in this movement we observe two motives, at times distinct the one from the other and at times in more or less effective combination. There was the motive of conquest. Of this phase of the movement the Spanish conquests in America may be taken as typical. In them the impulse to seize land, to subject peoples, to appropriate the movable wealth of these peoples, especially their gold and silver, was the dominant trait. These adventurers sought to wrest sovereignty from the infidels and to exploit the fabled wealth of peoples inferior to themselves in arms. The expeditions were made up almost wholly of soldiers and sailors and a few priests. There were few traders. Men interested in agriculture rarely came with them, or even men interested in mining, save merely to superintend the labors of the unfortunate aborigines and the black slaves soon introduced. They brought few women. Only later did they seek permanent settlements. There was never a Spanish

civilization in America bearing the same relation to the Spain of the sixteenth century which the civilization of practically the whole United States bears to that of the England of the seventeenth century.

27. *The motive of trade.*—The Portuguese, although they also exemplified at times the zeal of conquest, were more distinctively traders. They developed commerce in the seaports of the East to which they were permitted access. Conditions in India and still more in Japan would, indeed, never have permitted a small body of aggressive Europeans to launch upon such vast territorial conquests as followed upon the invasions of the Spaniards and the French in North America or of the Portuguese in South America. Yet even where, as in East Africa, it was not difficult to conquer territory the Portuguese showed the intention of developing the territory conquered, of making it the consumer of Portuguese goods and sending African products to Portuguese markets. Goa and the Portuguese settlements on the Coromandel Coast were essentially commercial settlements. The Portuguese were ready to defend themselves and sometimes even to force trade. They were not disposed to spoil the willingness of the natives to trade by putting themselves forward too aggressively as conquerors.

28. *English and Dutch trade.*—The remark made as to the Portuguese would apply to the Dutch when they took their place in this world-movement. They were before all things a commercial people. They wished to trade with all nations and thus to gain outlet for the energies of their own dense population, confined to a small territory, part of which had been rescued from the sea. There was cheerful fighting on the part of the

Dutch with the various Eastern and Western peoples who objected to their trade and also with Europeans who were their rivals in that trade. Trade was, however, the great object. Even of the English these remarks would be true in general down to the middle of the eighteenth century. Then the breath of a new time began to make itself felt in British world-politics.

29. *French exploration.*—The French voyages and journeys of adventure had had a character of their own. Much valor had been shown, but the French never conquered territory with the ferocity with which the Spaniards set themselves that task. They aspired, or at least Colbert, Louis XIV's greatest minister, aspired, to build up French commerce and to develop a new France on the other side of the sea. The fur trade was of vast proportions. The centralization of power, however, in the Bourbon monarchy, the bureaucracy which Richelieu and Mazarin had done their utmost to develop, proved fatal to that freedom and initiative which all successful overseas empires have shown. To this difference in national organization and, as things then were, in race temperament as well, one may largely attribute the success of the English commercial empire both in America and again in India. This latter also steadily advanced while the French faded away.

30. *The age of rationalism.*—A great change came over the mind of the European world after the end of the Thirty Years' War in Germany and of the Civil War in England. Motives imperial and ecclesiastical of the sort which had ruled in the Middle Ages took second place in men's minds. Even the spirit of nationalism which had been so marked in the fourteenth

century now changed its form. New motives, all connected, it would seem, with the rise of rationalism, took possession of peoples and their policies. Trade was to be preferred to conquest. Peace might be more advantageous than war. There was a new sense of the rights of all nations to the fruits of the struggle of the human race. There grew up in Europe an apprehension of international law. There was a dawning sense on the part of Europeans that there might be value in other civilizations than their own and in other religions than those with which they were familiar. These ideas never permeated Spain or Portugal in any degree. They permeated in high degree Holland, Denmark, and England. Despite the great intellectual achievements of France in the age of Louis XIV, despite the breadth and fineness of the French spirit, these ideas did not widely prevail in the France of the *grand monarque*. Before they came to prevail France had temporarily lost her place in the world-movement of European expansion which we are seeking to describe. Germany had had no place in that movement, for the simplest of all reasons—there was no Germany. There were only a few score of petty and jealous German potentates. Italy had no place in this movement. There was no Italy. There were only a few score Italian cities and principalities.

31. *The Mediterranean and the Moslem invasions of Europe.*—Venice had once been the only commercial state in Europe on a grand scale. The issue of the Crusades had, however, put an end to the power and gradually destroyed the commerce of Europe in the Levant and on the northern coast of Africa. The discov-

ery of America and of the Far East had turned the channels of trade and given other direction to the spirit of adventure. These events, with the fall of Constantinople, had prepared the way for a colossal and awe-inspiring impact of the Mohammedan civilization of the Near East upon Europe itself, an attack which reached its limit so late as the Ottoman siege of Vienna in 1683. In the two centuries during which European Christendom had been pressing upon the Far East and upon America the followers of the Prophet had made victorious invasion, not alone of Central and Southern Russia, but of the Balkan Peninsula and of considerable portions of Hungary and Austria. They had practically driven the ships of Christendom from the Mediterranean. Ferdinand the Catholic, who sent Columbus to America, drove the last Moors from Spain. It was twenty years after the fall of Constantinople that Ivan III won final victory for the Russians over the Tatars, who were by that time largely of the Moslem faith. In 1459 Mohammed II had put an end to the old Serbian Empire and made of Serbia a pashalic under the Porte, a state of things which continued until 1817. It was only in 1829 that Greece won her independence from the Turk. It was in 1878 that Bulgaria could first call itself an independent state. The fate of the Balkans was again one of the things which was at stake in the present war. The fate of the Ottoman Empire is itself at stake.

32. *French settlements by religious refugees.*—Only two remarks remain to be made before concluding this sketch of the early days of the movement of the expansion of Europe, which we have carried down to about the middle of the eighteenth century. One relates to French

and then later also to certain English and Dutch settlements both in Africa and in America which had a different motive from those named. In 1558 Villegagnon, who himself turned traitor to the high purpose, had led to Rio de Janeiro a colony of French Protestant refugees sent out from France by Admiral Coligny. To this colony went women and little children. The colonists sought to find in the New World the religious and political liberty which was denied them in France. Almost the same story repeated itself at Beaufort on the island of Port Royal off the coast of South Carolina. Here also was a bona fide settlement of Huguenot refugees who sought just what the Pilgrims later sought in coming to Plymouth and the Puritans to Massachusetts Bay. Huguenot refugees later settled among the Dutch in South Africa and again in New Amsterdam, but they lost their identity as representatives of France.

33. *English and Scotch who sought religious liberty.*— Jamestown in Virginia, settled in the fourth year of James I, 1607, was indeed largely a commercial venture, yet not lacking a religious character. Plymouth and Salem and Boston were settlements quite on the model of these tragic little attempts of the French of which we have spoken. They were ultimately upon far larger scale and achieved a significance second to that of no settlements ever made in the world. These settlers were indeed rarely of the Quaker or of the missionary mind, yet they were not exactly conquerors. Their trade amounted to almost nothing. They were at first religious refugees, and then, after the beginning of the reign of Charles I, political refugees. They sought within the area of the civil and spiritual life an inde-

pendence and democracy which were not accorded them at home. Many of the first settlers went back to England after the beginning of the Civil War had opened up to them the prospect of transforming England itself according to their mind. They left Great Britain again after the downfall of the Commonwealth. They laid the foundations of states and churches here in America which have made America what it is. They achieved immortal distinction. They were the precursors of other refugees, civil and religious, in many portions of the world. The issue of their acts, an issue unforeseen by themselves, has made this episode one of the great chapters in history. The Scotch who left Scotland after 1661 and Ireland after 1692 had much the same history. We note here the injection of a new and widely different motive from that either of conquest or of commerce into the course of events with which we deal.

34. *Voyages of discovery at the end of the eighteenth century.*—Finally, in curious fashion and as if it were a belated chapter of a much earlier movement, English navigators of the end of the eighteenth century, Captain Cook and his compeers, discovered or rediscovered the continents of Australia and New Zealand and almost all of the South Sea Islands. The African explorations of the middle of the nineteenth century are a still more belated chapter of this same phase of our movement. In the case of those continents and islands in the Southern Hemisphere, no sooner were they discovered and annexed to the then rapidly expanding British colonial empire than British trade, British political ideals, British social life and religious spirit entered at once into the development of territories for the most part

very sparsely settled, and whose civilization, in so far as they had any, had probably been unchanged for uncounted generations. Africa on the other hand was reserved to be the area of the struggle of the European nations for colonial possessions late in the nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth century.

35. *Conclusion.*—All the events of which we have been speaking point to the fact that there is somewhere near the middle of the eighteenth century a dividing line in this history of the expansion of Europe. It is a line which we shall more and more clearly note. There are certain common qualities of the movement so far as we have yet traced it. We might call the era thus far depicted that of the expansion of Europe mainly through conquest and trade and finally through emigration of refugees. From another point of view we might describe it as the period in which little effort was made by Europeans to alter the civilization of the races with which they came in contact, whether these were already highly civilized or whether on the other hand they had no civilization at all. The contacts of Europeans with other races were during this period not without traits which might be called religious. In so far as their efforts were of a missionary character they were almost exclusively on the part of the Roman Catholic church. Protestant men of profound religious conviction were finding places in the new worlds. They were busied, however, laying the foundations of religious institutions and Christian national and social life for themselves and not yet for peoples of other races. Protestants had barely begun to enter upon their missionary movement before 1757.

CHAPTER III

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36. *The rivalry of England and France.*—One of the dominating aspects of the history of the eighteenth century in Europe was the struggle for mastery between Great Britain and France. This contest was carried on not merely in Europe but also in Asia, in Africa, and in America. The War of the Spanish Succession, the participation of England and of France first on one side and then on the other in the Seven Years' War, the so-called French and Indian wars the issue of which gave Canada to Great Britain, the victory of Clive over the French in India, which opened the way for the ultimate British conquest of the whole peninsula, were but episodes in one great struggle. Already it was beginning to be evident that in some respects the fate of oriental peoples was being settled in the chancelleries of Europe. Conversely policies of European states were being determined, wars on European soil were being fought, in view of competing interests of the various states in the opposite hemisphere. Already it was being demonstrated how great a rôle sea power was to play in the future as the nations sought to weld continents into an imperial unity.

37. *The British East India Company.*—Thirteen years after the defeat of the Armada, two years before the death of Elizabeth, in 1601, a charter was granted to the British East India Company. This commercial

organization had decisive influence in the building up of the colonial empire of Great Britain as it is today. There were in other countries, notably in Holland, companies which existed for the furtherance of world-wide commerce. No one of them attained so soon or exercised so long the privileges of a virtual monopoly within the areas assigned to it by its government. None ever intrenched itself in the economic and social life of its own country as did the British East India Company through Parliament in the eighteenth century. Communication with far lands in those days was difficult. All the colonial administrations had need that discretion be accorded them in their scattered settlements. None ever had granted to it the position of a quasi-government in the sense in which this was yielded by crown and Parliament to the British Company. To all intents and purposes the Company was in India the government of Great Britain. Many of the abuses which led to successive modifications and at last to the revocation of the charter of the Company were due to what now seems to us an inexcusable confusion of powers. Nevertheless, under the masterful leadership of such men as Clive and Hastings and Wellesley this quasi-governmental character of its régime explains the amazing rapidity of the development of the Company's interests and the consolidation of its power.

38. *Sea power of Great Britain.*—Add to this the fact that the decline of Portugal and Spain had given Great Britain the mastery of the seas. The Dutch were not numerous enough long to dispute that mastery. Richelieu in 1629 thought to make the French navy

equal to the British. Even Napoleon until 1805 cherished the same dream. The French overseas empire which had not been commercially successful under Louis XIV was sacrificed through the stupidity and corruption of the monarchy under Louis XV. We have here suggested some at least of the conditions which led to the enormous expansion of Great Britain both in respect of territory and of trade after the middle of the eighteenth century.

39. *Territorial gains in India, losses in America.*— The British were unwilling any longer to trade on the coasts of India without penetrating the interior. Warlike native states confronted both French and British. The French had shrewdly played off these states one against another and all against England. The Company did the same against the French. After the Battle of Plassey, Great Britain inaugurated a series of military movements against the native principalities covering, with intermissions, fully a century. These never ceased until the whole peninsula, and finally Burma also, were added to the territory owning allegiance to the British crown. While this conquest in India was still in its beginning Great Britain lost the Atlantic seaboard colonies of North America which she had long fostered. It has been said that she lost them by a fatuous war which might easily have been avoided. Rather she lost them by a development of independence within the colonies themselves which rendered their loss inevitable so long as the view then current of the relation of colonies to the mother-country obtained. She retained, however, Canada and British America, part of which she had only a few years earlier acquired from France.

40. *The old motives of conquest and trade.*—We might say therefore that the middle of the eighteenth century witnessed something like a revival of the impulse of territorial aggrandizement. Of these conquests for the next century and a half, by far the greater part has fallen to the share of Great Britain. Yet France has in our own day in Africa recouped herself for many of her territorial losses. Italy has, also in Africa, begun to take part in a movement in which at the first she had no place. Germany found Africa practically the only place left for large territorial gains. In this same period there has been an expansion of the trade of European nations such as makes the trade of the earlier portion of our era seem trifling by comparison. In this trade Great Britain again has had by far the largest share. Yet states like Germany, which in the earlier period had no portion, have come to take large place. Russia during this period gained a vast though loosely organized Asiatic empire. Even the United States, which is of itself only an extension of Europe, has come to seek its share in world-traffic and committed itself almost unintentionally to the holding of a subject population overseas. One cannot say therefore that in the nineteenth century the old motives of territorial aggrandizement and of trade have had no place.

41. *The new motive, propagandism.*—In the century and three quarters which have elapsed since the victories of Clive at Plassey and of Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham a new motive has, however, entered into the movement of European expansion, the motive of propagandism. There has come also within the last half-century an extraordinary change in the attitude of

Asiatic peoples toward Europeans and the movement of the expansion of Christendom. Of this change of attitude Japan is by far the most conspicuous example. China is now following eagerly in the footsteps of Japan. Many things in India illustrate the same change of feeling.

42. *Universal ideals.*—After 1775 a new spirit began to show itself in the dealings of European powers, but especially of Great Britain, with Asiatic peoples. The subject peoples were henceforth not merely to be annexed to growing empires, nor were they simply to be exploited in the interests of trade. Not merely was something to be taken from them, their liberty or their goods. To them were to be extended the benefits of the civilization of European peoples. Upon them were to be bestowed gifts, especially those relating to the higher aspects of life, governmental, social, intellectual, moral, and religious. These characteristics of the European civilization were the product of long ages of struggle in the Western World. To some of them Europeans felt that the oriental world presented no satisfactory counterpart. There was often sufficient provincialism even in this view, but it was better than no view at all. It began to be felt, especially in Britain, that not only had conquest and trade thus far been negligent of all the higher aspects of life among Asiatics but that the inner principles of European civilization had often been grossly violated in the progress of conquest and trade. Christendom had met ancient civilizations, not merely with no perception of their values, but with no recollection of the higher values in its own. It had met barbarous peoples by the methods of more powerful barbarians.

43. *New enthusiasm for charity, philanthropy, and reform.*—There passed over Europe after the middle of the eighteenth century a great enthusiasm for humanity. The political movement which came to its full fruition in the French Revolution had at its back a contention for the rights of man as man. It was only one step from the contention that these rights were shared by men of all classes within a given nation to the assertion that they were shared by the people of every nation. The atrocities of slavery and of the slave trade were brought home to men who a few decades earlier had viewed these with complete indifference. Many reforms, especially economic and social, which still wait for their fulfilment are the logical issue of contentions which were then laid down. It was the quickened conscience of Great Britain which led to attacks in Parliament upon the policy of the East India Company. The revelations of the barbarity and corruption of the Company appalled the public mind. The impeachment of Warren Hastings for conduct no worse than that which had been condoned in the case of his predecessors was an event full of significance. It was the more striking because of the really brilliant services which Hastings had rendered.

44. *Change of view in government under the Company.*—Both Parliament and the Company launched now upon ventures for the amelioration of the condition of the subject peoples in India of a sort which the men of the previous generation would never have considered. Great educational projects were set on foot. Participation of the Indians in the government of their own land began to be provided for. Administration of

justice as Great Britain understood justice came to be viewed as one of the responsibilities of government in these lands. Although the government was chary of interfering with social customs, and above all with religious prejudices, cruel and obscene rites and ceremonies began to be done away with and abominable customs to be abolished. Even under the Company, whose charter was not finally withdrawn until 1858, there had arisen, especially after 1829, a generation of civil and military functionaries in British India whose high sense of responsibility, whose enthusiasm for every good thing in the life of the Indian peoples, and whose determination to do away with the evils of the ancient system of government and business cannot be too highly praised.

45. *Relation of the new enthusiasm for missions.*—It is easy to see that, of this enthusiasm for humanity which marked the end of the eighteenth century and found utterance in revolutions and reforms in many areas of life, the outbreak of missionary zeal which brought the Protestant churches into the field for the first time was but a part. The new missionary movement was but a phase of that awakening to the rights and dignity and destiny of mankind which in all European countries and America had vast effect in preparing the way for the progress of democracy in the nineteenth century. As applied to the men of conquered races, exploited, oppressed, enslaved as these were in other portions of the world, the impulse showed itself in efforts both to ameliorate conditions in this life and to prepare men's souls for the life to come.

46. *Common elements.*—The same sense of the value of human life in all its relations animated both endeavors.

There was the same sense of the wrongs which mankind had suffered, the same idealism about the life of all men if only they could be delivered from their disadvantages. This made of one man a passionate abolitionist, a prison reformer, by and by a Chartist, a socialist, set on redressing some outward obvious wrong. It made of another the enthusiastic pietist or evangelical, who himself cared little for the outward life, who held that the greatest wrong ever committed against men had been the withholding of the knowledge of redemption as it is in Christ. The otherworldliness of these men was scoffed at by their opponents. The unqualified individualism of their view of religion was indeed opposed to the rising social apprehensions of the time. The antithesis of those who seek to reach every social problem through the transformation of personality and, on the other hand, of those who hope by change of circumstance to quicken and uplift the soul is with us still. Yet, when all is said, it is obvious that the two tendencies did have their origin in the common love of mankind.

47. *Common methods.*—With the progress of the nineteenth century humanitarian endeavor moved steadily toward the higher levels of the moral and spiritual life of man. Conversely, the religious zeal which at first repudiated the thought of anything but soul-salvation has gradually perceived the unity of man's life. It has perceived that there can be no salvation of the soul which does not seek to show itself in the doing away of evil and the bringing in of every form of good in this world also. As a matter of fact, with missionaries has lain, in most of the lands of which we

speak, the inauguration of almost every form of charity and philanthropy, of educational and social and economic regeneration. On the other hand those who had spoken scornfully of proselyting, who repudiated the thought of meddling with the inner life of man, who wished to be merely civilizers, have discovered that the deep roots of civilization are always in morals and faith and that the end of civilization is the character of the men whom it raises up.

48. *Identical faults.*—There was a period, indeed, in which the civilizers and the religionists alike were guilty of a common fault. They manifested a naïve exaggeration of the value of the forms of culture or again of faith which were familiar to themselves. They took smugly superior attitudes toward the civilizations and the faiths of other men. There was a period when it seemed self-evident to these conscientious well-wishers of mankind that there was but one religion, just as also to some of the self-constituted reformers of the economic life of the effete Orient it was obvious that money divided itself naturally into pounds, shillings, and pence. All those who had been born outside of the circle of these indisputable benefits were lost either for this world or for the world to come or both. Remnants of this absurd racial and religious provincialism still survive. The larger part of it has passed away. The civilizations which the various races have developed in the long ages of their isolation are now seen to have each one of them its own peculiar elements of beauty and power as well as also probably its particular defects. The faiths which have sustained the different races in their long struggle upward are seen

to have had not merely a profound relation to the nature of the races among whom they have prevailed. They have emphasized also particular spiritual problems and have offered touching and wonderful solutions of those problems which the world would be the poorer were it to forget.

49. *Assimilation of vital elements.*—If all this was evident before the war it is still more evident in the light of that which the war has brought about. No one religion is simply to take the place of all the others, as perhaps our ancestors dreamed when they talked about the triumphs of the cross of Christ. Even with those men of new races with whom Christianity may take the place of their indigenous faith it will receive form and color from their ancient inheritance and from their especial environment. The indigenous faiths may be profoundly altered by the changes in civilization and by the rivalry of Christianity. It is not likely that they will soon disappear. Only those who do not know the history of their own religion fail to realize that Christianity also, in the two thousand years that it has been journeying from nation to nation, has gone through many such transformations and amalgamations with elements from the past of the races who adopted it.

50. *Authoritative character of the Roman Catholic missions.*—One more point needs to be touched upon in this connection. In it the contrast of the most modern and especially of the Protestant propaganda with that of the Roman Catholic missions of the sixteenth century comes out. In that earlier stage which we might call the Roman Catholic period of the expansion of Christendom the effort for the spread of Chris-

tianity was official. It was the work of the orders, primarily of course of the Society of Jesus. It was the task of recognized agencies in the Christian institution. It was authoritative and had behind it the highest ecclesiastic responsibility. It went out from the church and sought to bring men into the church. It gained much by this authoritative character. It had plan. It avoided waste. Yet there were limitations and losses which went far to offset this gain.

51. *Democratic aspects of Protestant missions.*—In contrast with this, in the great outburst of missionary enthusiasm which followed the spread of the Pietist movement and had its first signal illustration in the work of the Moravian communities, one may say that the absence of ecclesiastic authority and responsibility was almost the universal trait. There was no central religious authority among Protestants. Such developed organizations as existed among them were at the first almost invariably hostile to the missionary movement. Pietists were not looked upon with favor among the Lutherans Those Independents who, with certain members of other dissenting bodies, formed the London Missionary Society in 1795 were not the representatives of the dissenting churches as such. The establishment of the Church Missionary Society was something like an active rebellion within the Anglican church, so different were the views which obtained among these evangelical enthusiasts from the views which were held in authoritative circles in the Establishment at that time. The first missionary societies were not as a rule representative of any denomination. They were groups of men and women from various sects drawn together by their

interest in this particular cause, a cause in which their denominations were frequently not interested.

52. *Parallel of Methodism and home missions.*—It must be remembered that in very similar fashion Wesley had felt called upon to inaugurate, in 1738, what we should now call his great home missionary movement for the neglected among the population of the new towns and the declining rural districts in England and among the miners in Wales. Although he was a clergyman of the Church of England, he yet found himself opposed by the church. The movement which he had intended to be a reform within that church ended in the complete separation of the Wesleyans from that church. Yet the church has since sought to accomplish many of the purposes which Wesley's eager spirit set before itself. Similarly the great missionary societies, most of them, have in the course of the nineteenth century been appropriated by the churches when these at last came to realize the significance of the cause which at first they had opposed. Most of the missionary societies were originally chartered corporations. They were not ecclesiastical bodies nor even the servants of such bodies.

53. *Parallel of the antislavery movement.*—In something of the same manner, the great secular reforming movements at the end of the eighteenth century, which were the congeners of the Protestant missionary movement, began in almost every case in the work of individuals or of small groups who had upon their conscience the prosecution of a particular reforming task. The antislavery movement had this history in Great Britain. In America those who opposed slavery had

in the end to face a civil war. It is one of the pathetic curiosities of the situation that they had also very generally to face the hostility of the clergy and the Christian church, which in this particular sided often with organized society. The missionary movement in India had for a generation all the power of the British East India Company against it. Yet in the end Protestant missions have certainly exerted a greater influence upon education, medical work, charity, philanthropy, and reform in the lands to which they have gone than they would have done had they represented an authoritative institution like the Roman church. It is probable that they have also exerted a greater influence than they would have done had they had from the beginning the favor of the European states which dominated the peoples whom the missions sought to aid.

54. *Change of mind on the part of non-European peoples.*—In the last sections various aspects of a change of mind on the part of European nations toward the peoples of the Orient were mentioned. That change took place toward the end of the eighteenth century. After the middle of the nineteenth century there came a great change also in the attitude of Indians and Japanese toward the ideas and influences of the West. At the beginning of the twentieth century we have seen the same change in the attitude of China and of the Turkish Empire. No one of all the changes in the oriental world within the last two generations is more conspicuous or significant than is this alteration of the oriental mind. A warlike nation like Japan, which until 1854 had been hermetically sealed for two centuries against all influences of the West, has in fifty

years freely adopted large elements of Western civilization and become in some sense a Western nation in the East. A peaceful nation like China, which so late as 1900 was fatuous enough to throw down the gauntlet to all the world at once, now seeks in feverish haste to transform herself according to the principles of a civilization which two decades ago she despised.

55. *Racial self-consciousness in the East.*—Certainly Asiatics do not view with greater favor than formerly the extension of Western sovereignties or the continuance of those which already exist. Japanese and Chinese have perceived, however, that the adoption of Western arms and training for their armies and navies and of Western methods in their business, the appropriation of the results of scientific discovery and invention in all areas of life, represent the only method by which the peoples of the East can make stand against the aggression of the nations of the West. It is not that there is less of racial self-consciousness and national aspiration than in former years among these peoples. Quite the contrary; the resurgence of racial and national feeling is one of the marked characteristics of the present stage of our movement. It is a feeling which has been directly fostered by the spread of the Western empires and the violence and injustice with which that expansion has too often been attended. Equally it has been fostered by the growth of liberty and enlightenment and that amelioration of life among oriental peoples which it has been the conscientious aim of high-minded administrators of Western governments, as in India, or again of European and American missionary enthusiasts in Turkey or China, to bring about.

56. *The example of India.*—The governors of India in the first half of the nineteenth century grew ashamed of the neglect which had characterized the earlier period and inaugurated a system of education which is one of the glories of India today. They esteemed that this education in the history and principles of Western and particularly of British life would tend to bind India to Great Britain. As a matter of fact no inconsiderable part of the unrest which exists in India today exists among those who on the very basis of English education, of British law and liberty, of Anglo-Saxon freedom of speech and of the press, agitate in the sense of the phrase "India for the Indians." To be sure the war has brought out the fact that there exists a very strong pro-British sentiment in India and this among the classes most influential in the life of the Indian peoples. Here is a great tribute to the essential justice of the British rule. Yet one would altogether deceive himself if he failed to realize that even this fact is also an evidence of the intensity of Indian racial aspiration. The leading minds of India believe that those racial aspirations have more hope of realization under British administration, for the present at least, than they could possibly have in an India nominally independent but really delivered over to division within itself or else subject to some other foreign power.

57. *The example of Turkey.*—The awakening in the Ottoman Empire manifested in the revolution of 1908 and 1909 surprised those who knew that empire best. It was the result, in part, of an inner transformation of certain subject peoples of the empire by elements of Western education and of moral and religious stimulus

which had been introduced into Turkey by missionaries within the last ninety years under treaties with European nations, which the Turkish government would have been glad at any time to break. It was the result in a measure also of a parallel recognition, hesitant indeed and vacillating, yet in a measure genuine, upon the part even of Turks themselves. They had come to feel that the only hope of escaping the pressure which Western powers, ever since 1829, had exerted upon the Porte lay in permitting its army to be trained after European fashion and some, at least, of its administrative and educational functionaries to be educated in the capitals of Europe. The revolution represented only a more consistent adoption by the party of progress of a view which the old sultan alternately adopted and abandoned. It was the view that the Turkish government must be in some measure Europeanized if the empire was to avoid dismemberment.

58. *The example of Japan.*—Japan, early in the sixteenth century, admitted Portuguese traders and presently also their Dutch and English competitors, not indeed gladly, yet without any of the fierce hostility which later showed itself. She permitted the inauguration of a Christian propaganda in the Japanese Empire which for a time had extraordinary success. Then, early in the seventeenth century, the Japanese turned upon the Christians and indeed upon all foreigners. They closed their ports against traders. Through the insular position of Japan and by the warlike character of its population they were able to carry out this isolation of the island empire from the world in a manner which seems almost incredible. In the year 1854 a com-

mercial treaty with Japan was practically forced by the United States. Fifteen years later the Japanese showed themselves entirely convinced that the only safety of their empire lay in the adoption of large elements of Western civilization. They inaugurated reforms, political, civil, social, educational, and economic, which have within fifty years made Japan an effective competitor of any nation in Christendom in almost any area of life.

59. *The spirit of the Japanese.*—No one imagines that the Japanese have gone through this miraculous transformation because they have not a proud sense of their own race, of the glory of its past, or of the significance of its future. The reverse is the case. They have transformed Japan in order that they might remain Japanese. One might say that we have thus in Japan the most conspicuous example of the effect of the measurable Europeanizing of a portion of the Orient upon the free and enthusiastic movement of the mind and temper of the people themselves. It has taken place in a nation upon whose soil no European conqueror ever set foot. One might say that as we think of Japan we gain a new sense of our phrase "the expansion of Europe." We realize that this expansion is not limited to relatively empty continents, like America, which European settlers filled, nor yet to populous territories like India, in which European colonial empires have been set up. The phrase is applicable also to a country which has done all that it has done in Europeanizing itself in order that no European empire may be there set up.

60. *The example of China.*—China admitted Portuguese, Dutch, and English traders to certain of her seaports practically at the same time of which we

spoke in reference to Japan. She admitted Jesuit missionaries soon after the death of Francis Xavier. In China also these missions achieved at the first astounding success. From China also they were ejected with something like the same severity. China also, though never with the same effectiveness, sought to exclude from the Celestial Empire the foreigner with all his ways and works. So remarkable an episode as the siege of the legations in Peking in the summer of 1900 must be interpreted as the last spasm of old China in the effort to prevent the spread of European influences. With the failure of that effort even the government of the Dowager saw itself compelled to make the same decision which Japan had taken forty years before. It must accept a measure of Europeanization or cease to be an autonomous power. Because the Europeanization did not proceed fast enough for the enthusiasts in China the Manchu dynasty was dethroned in the revolution of 1913 and China declared a republic. A startling radicalism is the direct expression of the quickened racial and national enthusiasm of the most conservative people in the world.

61. *Effect of the war.*—There has been, indeed, a general rapprochement due to increased intercourse of nations within the last generation. Considerable numbers of the upper classes from all oriental countries traveled and studied in European countries and in America. Large numbers of the working classes had found temporary employment in Western lands and then returned to their own. There was a growing recognition that the strong points of one civilization might lie in one direction and those of another in quite

a different direction. There was a measure, none too great, of international good-will. This international good-will has been in some directions gravely diminished by the war. In some other directions it has been greatly increased. The bringing of the nations of the East into the life-and-death struggle of the West will have altered profoundly the position of the Eastern nations with reference to world-problems. The men of the score of races who have fought on the battlefields of Europe will never again take up the same position which they had before they fought. The men of Europe and America can never again assign them to the same position. In the problems of reconstruction which will face the whole world when the war is over, Asia and also Africa will have part in a manner never before dreamed of. The general assumption of the superiority of Western civilization has been rudely shaken. It has been shaken for orientals. It has been shaken for Europeans and Americans themselves. It is not true that in the minds of thoughtful men in the East the war has in principle discredited Christianity. Christendom is discredited because it has fallen so far below the level of Christianity. Chinese men know this as well as do Englishmen and Americans.

62. *Assimilation of West and East.*—The things which we have been saying show that one outstanding trait of the contacts of West and East in the nineteenth century has been what we may call the tendency to assimilation of West and East. Conquests have continued. In Africa especially, European lust of conquest led after 1878 to a veritable scramble for territorial possession. Trade has been more extensive than ever before.

Yet there has been also a disposition upon the part of men of the West to impart all elements of their life to the men of the East. Conversely, there has been a disposition on the part of these latter to receive and naturalize among themselves many elements, both the superficial and the deeper ones, of Western civilization. Motives on both sides have been complex. There is now a tendency toward a measurable uniformity of type of civilization which everywhere shows itself. Certain elements of the life of Europe and America with which we are familiar at home meet us in every land upon the face of the earth in curious juxtaposition with elements native to the particular region to which we have transported ourselves. You may pass a door in Shanghai and see a woman with bound feet speaking through a telephone.

63. *Nature of this assimilation.*—When we reflect that the European-American civilization is no better than it is, we have moments of profound depression. We have times when we deeply deplore this tendency to assimilation. We wonder if all that is great and beautiful in the ancient civilizations of the East is to disappear before the advance of a civilization concerning which we must ourselves admit that, although it has elements which are great and good, it has monstrous elements of evil as well. If we really believed that the European civilization was to displace all others we might well doubt concerning the issue of a movement begun long ago, which has now passed completely beyond our control and of which the results are highly problematical. The comfort lies in the fact that no such complete displacement of ancient civilizations, cultures, or religions is going to take place. There

will be a measure of uncertainty in the movement at the first. In the last analysis we may be sure that only those things in Western civilization which have vitality in the East will survive. Just so those things in the Eastern civilizations which have sufficient vitality will also certainly survive. These two sets of vital elements, disparate as they have been in their origin and acute as may be the present conflict between them, will coalesce in something vital for the nations which are to be. Moreover, it is certain that vital elements in the Eastern civilizations, cultures, and faiths will influence the West far more profoundly in the twentieth century than they have done in the nineteenth.

64. *Appropriation of certain outward factors.*—Granting this principle of assimilation, it is interesting to note that certain elements of European civilization are apparently more easy for non-European races to take over in their entirety than are certain others. To put it differently, certain elements of European civilization practically unaltered do displace corresponding elements in Asiatic and African civilizations. Certain others never make headway until they have been profoundly altered by the play upon them of the genius of the race concerned. Manufacturing, mining, and industrial processes, which involve the application of the physical sciences developed until recently only in the West, are reproduced in Japan and will be reproduced in China practically without alteration. Western medicine has completely taken the place of what passed for medical practice among the Japanese two generations ago. In certain outward things life in the East will some day not merely resemble life in the West, it

will be identical with life in the West. The railways and factory chimneys in Hankow or Osaka or Milan or Manchester or Chicago remind us of this fact every day.

65. *Naturalization of the deeper and more permanent elements.*—The moment one passes, however, into the sphere of inner freedom, of government, of education in its larger human aspects, of social life and morals, and most of all of religion, the case is different. Here, in what we may call the spiritual area, the individual reaction is immeasurably greater. Characteristic results of freedom everywhere manifest themselves. Industrial life may be the same or nearly so the world over. Social life, art, poetry will never lose the traces of their past. It would be deplorable if they should do so. The moral and religious life of some of these peoples is an area within which they have made vast achievements in time past, achievements before which we of the West must stand in awe and reverence. The results of these ages of moral and spiritual conflict, feeling, thought, will never be entirely lost. We ought to give thanks that this is so. Elements of the Western man's social life and moral system and religious aspiration may well pass into the life of the East through free adoption of them on the part of individuals and groups of Eastern men. They will never thus pass without being altered by the free play of the life and character of the race concerned. Doctrines will never find expression native to these peoples except against the background of their ancestral cultivation. The interpretation of religion and of Christianity itself, in so far as these peoples adopt Christianity, will be the richer and more wonderful by the racial contributions which these peoples make.

CHAPTER IV

THE EXPANSION OF EUROPE IN AMERICA AND RUSSIAN ASIA

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66. *Present situation as to colonial empires.*—We have used the phrase "expansion of Europe" in the sense of the great empires of conquest and trade, the establishment of which became the object of the ambition of European powers as early as the middle of the sixteenth century. The older of these colonial empires have practically vanished, not without leaving their mark upon the trade and civilization of the world. Great Britain continues in possession of an empire which at the end of the reign of Victoria contained one-fourth of the habitable land of the globe and one-fifth of the human race. France has in part recouped itself for territorial losses through the partitionment of Africa in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Italy and Belgium and Germany, which earlier had no part in this colonial development, held at the beginning of the war large possessions in Africa.

67. *The spread of the spirit of Europe in the autonomous nations of the East.*—We have seen, however, that the phrase "expansion of Europe" may be used in quite a different sense from that of colonial possessions under governmental sway. It may describe a state of things like that in Japan where certain elements of European civilization have been freely taken over with varied motives by great nations of the East. In these cases the phrase denotes the adoption and adaptation by Asiatic

and other races of European ideas and institutions which have taken place without the establishment of an outward sway of European states. It is a change of the mind of peoples, some of them peoples with a great history and a highly developed civilization of their own, which yet in governmental and industrial and educational matters have been profoundly influenced by the spirit of a civilization which had its origin and its slow evolution entirely in Western Europe and America.

68. *A third sense of the expansion of Europe as illustrated in North America and Australia.*—We have now to note that the phrase "expansion of Europe" may be used with still a third meaning. Of this third significance of the phrase, Australia and New Zealand, almost all of South America, and the whole of North America may be taken as representative. The United States constitutes the typical example. Here European states did at first establish actual sovereignty. These sovereignties were, however, established in vast regions of sparse population and of no highly developed civilization. The aboriginal population has almost disappeared. There has been no influence of an American Indian civilization upon the civilization of the people who now inhabit the United States. There is but one great factor in the population of the United States which is not of European descent. This is made up of the descendants of African slaves. They also had no civilization of their own the elements of which could enter into composition with that of the Europeans who ruthlessly brought them to these shores. In the major aspects of its civilization therefore this great area which has now arrived at primary significance in the history of the world is but a portion of Europe

transferred bodily to the Western Hemisphere. This situation is not altered by the fact that the territory in question long ago severed its political connection with Europe and established itself as an independent nation. It belongs to the area from which direct and powerful influences for the Europeanizing of the world go out.

69. *Latin America.*—Mexico and almost all the states of Central and South America have also thrown off their allegiance to the European powers, of which they were originally colonies. The remnant of the aboriginal populations is relatively larger than in the case of Canada or of the United States. There has been more of admixture of Caucasian blood with these aboriginal elements. The South American states and the islands have also a large African population. The civilization of Mexico and Peru seems to have been considerably higher than that which was anywhere found in the north of North America. It has left but little trace behind. The European impulses which these southern peoples received in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were then for a long time broken off. Spain and Portugal were declining. Mexico has many characteristics of the Spain of the sixteenth century rather than those of the Spain of the nineteenth century. Australia has the characteristics of the British Isles of the present moment. The United States, with its unexampled admixture of European populations as it is today, has had a development all its own and in the full tide of the development of the modern world.

70. *Religious history in the Americas.*—Religiously also the Americas and Australia are but a Europe overseas. But little trace is left of the religions of the North

or South American Indian tribes. There has been no composition and fusion of Christian with other elements, such as we have seen in the lands of the East. Heroism in missionary endeavor on the part of French Jesuits on behalf of the North American Indians and again on that of the Spanish Franciscans in the interest of populations of the Southwest and of the Pacific Coast was not lacking. These populations have, however, almost disappeared from the earth. The Christians helped them to disappear in a measure not creditable to their Christianity. In the religion of the negro population there are psychological traits easily recognizable as traits of African paganism. Yet the mythology and religious folklore of these children of Africa in America has curiously little reminiscence of anything which is African. It is Christian or Jewish in form. Its most pathetic trait is its recurrence to the idea of the deliverance of Israel. In the large the Christianity of these continents is therefore the Christianity of Europeans themselves, developed indeed in a new environment and under new conditions but under impulses and with diversifications which almost all had their origin in the history of the church in Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The original Christianity of the United States was Roman Catholicism in the south and again in the far north. It was Protestantism almost exclusively in the middle area.

71. *The Protestant sects.*—Protestant sects are numerous in the United States and Canada. Most of them trace their origin to the fact that these regions were settled at a time when in Europe and especially in England after the Civil War the tendency to sectarian

division and denominational disruption was at its height. In many instances sectaries left their own countries of purpose that they might have a free field for the expression of their own religious peculiarities. In the United States and Canada these denominations have, during the nineteenth century, taken upon themselves responsibility for participation in the Christian missionary activity of the world. Undoubtedly they have increased the perplexity of converts to the Christian faith in Asia and Africa when they have been too insistent as to idiosyncrasies which can never have any meaning for the Asiatic and are rapidly ceasing to have any for the American. Perhaps the development of Christian thought and institutions in the missions will help to do away with these petty divisions which have long been the bane of occidental Protestantism.

72. *Asiatic Russia.*—Allusion has been made to Russia as having extended within our period the influence of Europe throughout the whole northern part of the continent of Asia somewhat as England and other European states have spread that influence in the southern portion of that continent. There are, however, great and characteristic differences. The Russian Empire is a continuous land empire. Sea-borne commerce has had practically no part in its development. Until the railways the old caravan routes were the only arteries of traffic. Russia has not been, in the modern sense, an industrial or commercial state. The passion for enlargement of territory even in regions where agriculture and mining values were not as yet much thought of was at the first the main motive. As the Tatars pressed upon Russia until the victory of the Don, as the Russians

once paid tribute to the Khan in the valley of the Amur, so the Russians in turn have pressed eastward upon the Tatars until the chieftains of the Amur paid tribute in Kiev and Moscow and Petrograd.

73. *Religious history of modern Russia.*—Russia had no part in many of the movements which went to make the modern European states. She had no part in the Crusades. Yet in the five hundred years of struggle against the Tatars she may be said to have had a crusade of her own. Russia had no part in the Renaissance. Yet through her unbroken connection with Constantinople it is doubtful whether in the period before the Renaissance the culture of Little Russia and Poland was not at a higher level than that of large parts of Western Europe. Russia had no experience parallel to that of the Protestant Reformation. The establishment of the patriarchate of Moscow was rather the emergence in Russia of a power like that of the pope which Western Europe at that very time was seeking to break. The breath of the intellectual and spiritual reformation which touched Cyril Lucar, the illustrious patriarch of Constantinople, and made him the correspondent of Anglican churchmen in the seventeenth century never touched Russia. The Reformation movement once so significant in Poland was crushed by the Roman church.

74. *Freedom in Russia.*—There was no democratic and individualist movement in Russia like that which in England and more slowly in France followed upon the period of the Reformation. Russia failed to receive that quickening which the rationalist movement everywhere gave to all phases of the life of Western Europe. The individualism of much of the present-day movement

in Russia may be ascribed to the tyrannical postponement of the slow and beneficent effects of a normal national awakening just as the excesses of the French Revolution may be credited to the repression practiced by the Bourbon state and the Gallican church. In the Russian revolution the church seems to have gone by the board as truly as the state. That happened in France also after 1789.

75. *Russian conquests in Asia.*—It was Ivan the Terrible, who reigned from 1533 to 1584, who began the great advance of Russia into Asia. Jarmak, a man from beyond the Urals, was the first great conqueror. By his so-called gift of Siberia to the crown he purchased his restoration to the favor of Ivan in 1583. Within eighty years the Russians had reached the Amur River and the Pacific Coast. At the end of a hundred years they had penetrated deep into North America. The conquest of the Caucasus regions, partly from Persia and partly from the Porte, was one of the great objects of the reign of Nicholas I. The reign of his successor, Alexander II, who died in 1881, brought to Russia indeed doubtful success in the war with Turkey, but it also witnessed vast expansion of Russian territory in Central Asia. It gave to the Czar the whole area lying between Siberia on the north and Persia and Afghanistan on the south and stretching from the Caspian to Chinese territory. The question of the relation of Siberia to the civil and social salvation of Russia emerges in unexpected fashion in the later stages of the Great War.

76. *Russian settlements and missions in Asia.*—The settlement of the conquered country has been slow. The population is still sparse. Cossack troops were sent to

follow up the invasions. Imperial guards were located in the main towns. Peasants fled from Russia to escape serfdom or conscription. Again, peasants have been settled on the land by the government, and sectaries of every sort have fled from Russia to escape religious persecution. Political exiles were once very numerous in certain regions. Everywhere the Russian church has followed with more or less success this essentially Russian population. Everywhere it has attempted mission work among the non-Christian populations. In considerable parts of Siberia the primitive paganism is disappearing. Russian priests were closely associated with the government in administration of the Asiatic provinces. No great influence has been exerted by the church throughout the Asiatic domain in the direction of education or social reform.

77. *Missions of the Holy Orthodox church outside of Russia.*—The Russian church has three foreign missionary endeavors of not inconsiderable significance. Its oldest field is that in China. Missions were established at Peking in 1714 in face of strong opposition on the part of the Jesuits and the Roman Catholic church. There is a very successful mission of the Russian church in Japan, established in 1863 by the Archimandrite Nicolai, only recently dead. It is said to have some thirty thousand Japanese adherents. Thirdly, there is an extensive missionary work of the Russian church among Indians and Eskimos in Alaska and the Aleutian Islands dating from the time when this territory belonged to Russia.

CHAPTER V

THE OPENING OF AFRICA

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THE OPENING OF AFRICA

78. *Early trade and slavery.*—Africa was the first of the continents with which Europeans came in contact when, in the age of the Renaissance, the movement of European expansion began. It is the last of the continents upon which the partitionment of large parts of its territory among European powers has been attempted. For centuries trade was carried on by Europeans upon the coast before serious effort was made even to explore the interior. Christian missionary endeavors, both Roman Catholic and Protestant, though early inaugurated, have not yet passed much beyond the primitive stages appropriate to a people of but little developed civilization. On the other hand, a great and successful propaganda in the name of Islam has been carried on in Africa for more than a generation. The black race shows nowhere marked tendency to diminish in numbers or vitality before the advance of white men as did the Indians of North America and the islanders of the South Seas. This is true in spite of the fact that, great as were the injustices practiced by settlers toward the Indians, these never for a moment bore comparison with the atrocities of the slave trade.

79. *Portuguese Africa.*—Portuguese adventurers patronized by Henry the Navigator doubled Cape Bojardo in 1434. By 1480 the whole of the Guinea coast was known. Items of commerce mentioned were slaves, ivory, and gold. The discovery of America after

1492 stimulated the slave trade, which before that time had been largely an overland traffic and confined to Mohammedan Africa. The supremacy of the Guinea coast passed from Portugal to Holland in the seventeenth and to England and France in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The Portuguese long held most of the east coast south of Cape Gardafui, with Mozambique as their center. They knew of gold mines in the interior in what is now Rhodesia, but their attempt to establish a hold over these regions was never effective.

80. *Dutch Africa.*—The Dutch made permanent settlement at Table Bay in 1652. To this Dutch colony at the Cape went many French Protestants. They were absorbed into the life of the Dutch colonies which were later to become the Boer republics and have but recently passed into the hands of Great Britain. The eighteenth century saw almost no progress in the penetration of the interior of the continent. The slave trade from the two coasts dwarfed everything else. In this trade the seaboard colonies of North America came to take a large part.

81. *Missionaries and explorers.*—The Napoleonic era distracted European attention from Africa. Yet the temporary possession of Egypt, first by France and then by England, may have suggested the establishment in 1811 under Mohammed Ali of a régime almost independent of the Ottoman Empire. Also in 1832 the Arabs began to penetrate the interior from Zanzibar. There had been Roman Catholic missions at various places on the coast from the beginning. The English Society for the Propagation of the Gospel inaugurated its work in 1752. Moravians followed in 1792. Prot-

estant missionaries, like Rebmann and Krapf, who were German Pietists under English auspices, became explorers and discoverers and agitators for the abolition of the slave trade. The typical person in this group is, above all, Livingstone, who, in the period from 1849 to 1873, crossed Africa from ocean to ocean three times. He spent his life in the struggle against the slave trade, in the endeavor to heal what he called "the open sore of the world." Burton and Speke, Baker and Cameron, Schweinfurth and Stanley, with their compeers, had by 1875 made Africa to be no longer the Dark Continent, the mystery which it had remained since the world began.

82. *Partitionment of Africa since 1879.*—Before 1875 the only powers with considerable territorial interests in Africa were the Portuguese, the British, and the French. After 1854 even the British took but languid interest in African affairs. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 changed the face of matters. Yet even in 1879 not a tenth of the area of the continent was claimed by European powers. Then in 1884 came the effort upon the part of the Germans, beginning with Togo and Kamerun, to express in world-relations the greatness of the German Empire united since 1870. France also in the same period undertook to make good the loss of the glorious empire in America which she had sacrificed in the eighteenth century. The British were virtually in possession of Egypt with the guardianship of the Canal after 1882. They extended their territory southward into the Sudan and reached the sea at Mombasa. When after the Boer War the old Dutch republics had fallen into English hands, nothing but the

territory of German East Africa interrupted a continuous British sovereignty from Cairo to the Cape. Similarly nothing save the British possession of the Egyptian Sudan prevented the French from holding a continuous empire from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean. Belgium also entered the struggle of European powers for African possessions, obtaining in 1885 a protectorate over the so-called Congo Free State, which became a Belgian colony in 1908. Germany presently added to her possessions a great area on the west coast north of Cape Colony. Italy, after an abortive effort in Abyssinia, obtained the Eritrean coast on the Red Sea. Within the last few years she has appropriated also a large part of Tripoli. The portions of Africa which still own allegiance to the Porte are by this time very small. Those portions which by any stretch of language could be described as autonomous African states are smaller still.

83. *Africa and alien civilization.*—It is true that the development of Africa has waited apparently through all the ages for the impact of the civilization of Europe. It is true that the black races, the immemorial inhabitants of by far the larger part of this continent, have never developed any high civilization among themselves or made appreciable advance, save when in contact with other races. It is also true that no continent has ever suffered such monstrous wrongs in its contacts with the civilizations of Asia, Europe, and America. Slavery has been known in the history of many races. No one race has been singled out as everybody's slave as has the colored race. There is something profoundly disturbing in the opening decades of the twentieth cen-

tury of Christianity in the spectacle of the struggle of European nations for the possession each of its own part of this magnificent continent, with the least possible recognition that the races who have lived in it since the world began have rights to independent development which anyone is bound to respect.

84. *The struggle against slavery and the slave trade.* —Great Britain abolished slavery in the empire in 1833. The slave trade had been abolished in 1806. Certain northern states of the United States, one after another, abolished slavery before 1806, but in the United States as a whole the end came only as the result of a bitter civil war, in 1863. The British took up the war upon the African and Arab slave raiders in Africa in 1882. The partitionment of Africa had hardly begun. The slave trade from the Congo country to the east coast was at its very worst. The struggle lasted until 1909. Its most picturesque figure was surely Chinese Gordon who lost his life at Khartoum in 1884. Neither slavery nor the slave trade is yet stamped out in Africa. They are certainly reduced far beyond the measure which anyone of Gordon's generation would have dared to hope.

85. *Industrial conditions in South Africa.*—Meantime the development of trade, particularly of mining, in British South Africa since the Boer War, with the building of railways and the navigation of the great lakes and rivers, has set up a movement among the African tribes themselves which bids fair now swiftly to alter conditions which have existed since before the dawn of history. The isolation of local tribes, their permanence upon the spot of soil with which they have

always been identified, is ceasing or has ceased. The tribal dialects, the whole social system, patriarchal or of whatever sort it was, are giving way before this migration. A hundred or more languages and dialects are spoken daily in Johannesburg. Laborers who until yesterday lived exactly as their ancestors lived ever since the Pharaohs now live in the suburbs of Johannesburg much as laborers live in a mining camp in Colorado, on the Yukon, or in Siberia. The problem of maintaining government over this population is sufficiently difficult. The problem of their education and of the maintenance of moral distinctions and religious values among them is greater still.

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86. *Effect on indigenous faiths.*—In many of the non-European countries which come within our view, the change in ideals of life, the relaxation of old authority has had, temporarily at least, injurious effect upon the social and moral life of whole strata of the population. Not merely foreigners who have the interest of these nations at heart, but representatives of the peoples themselves view this situation with grave concern. They feel that unless the old faiths which once functioned serviceably can be revived or unless other sanctions can be found, the last end of the boasted progress of their countries will be worse than the first. These facts explain the efforts at the reform of Hinduism which have been made by enlightened spirits in India within the last two generations. This anxiety besets many high-minded men in Japan. It animates both their effort at the revival of the ancient faiths and also their attitude of open-mindedness toward the foreign faith to which they were formerly hostile. That the hope of many of these men takes the form of an adequate restatement and readjustment of their own ancestral faiths to the new conditions of their nation's life is altogether natural. Whether these ancient faiths can ever really achieve so radical a transformation of themselves, whether they can ever become again in their vastly altered environment the sources of spiritual insight and of moral corroboration which they were

under the earlier conditions, is a question which only time and the adherents of these faiths can answer. Western civilization in some measure all these nations are determined to have. In considerable measure they already have it. What will be its effect upon Eastern religions?

87. *Transformation of these faiths.*—In some sense these changes which have become imperative for oriental faiths are parallel to those through which Christianity itself has passed in Europe and America within the nineteenth century. Many of the same problems which we have met, Buddhism in Japan and Hinduism in India must now meet, only in these latter cases the adjustment to modern conditions seems more difficult. The gulf fixed between these faiths and the modern mind and life seems to us greater than it can possibly be in the case even of those Christians who offer stoutest resistance to all new interpretations. Yet even in Christendom only too many men are left practically indifferent to religion because they have never conceived of it except in terms which they are unable in intellectual integrity to accept. It is no wonder if certain Japanese and Hindus are becoming non-religious, if not actually irreligious, because they cannot state their Buddhism or Hinduism in terms which they as scientifically trained modern men can honestly accept.

88. *All classes feel the strain.*—Nor should it be implied that the effect we seek to describe is limited to the educated classes. On the contrary, just as in Christendom, this influence is felt in strata of the population which themselves have little or no modern training. To them, nevertheless, the attitude of mind

of others has spread in that marvelous contagion of opinion which everywhere exists in the modern world. Nor is it to be forgotten that some of those who have been most zealous in the cause of Christian missions have in times past appeared not to feel in its full force that necessity of restatement and adjustment of Christianity to modern conditions which was implied above. Some of them have thought of the doctrinal and ritual forms of their own faith as unchangeable. They have expected nothing of their converts but that these should give up absolutely their inherited faith and take over the faith and life of one of our Western sects in its entirety. The beauty of the Christian character of some who have conscientiously held this mistaken view, their exemplary life with the treasures of their love and self-sacrifice, have won and held converts to the more thoughtful of whom their theoretical views must have been difficult in the extreme.

89. *Religious unrest in the Orient.*—The whole religious and moral life of the Orient is seething with unrest, just as is also that of the Occident. It sometimes seems as if we had succeeded mainly in imparting to the East our own unrest, an unrest of which it is gratuitously assumed that the Orient knew nothing until the Western man appeared. Certain it is that there will be no solution of the problems which this unrest creates, either in the East or in the West, save upon the basis of the discovery of the relation which our complex and ever-changing modern life bears to the eternal facts and truths of morals, of idealism, and of religion. In this quest upon which we are now launched, in this struggle to which the whole race is committed, in this

profound dissatisfaction which we all feel, and to the faith which in our most trying moments we all cherish, it is more than likely that the oriental races have their own grand contribution to make.

90. *Abortive results of the movement.*—It would not be strange if some among us, profoundly impressed with the weaknesses and unworthinesses of the life of our Western World, had moments of regretting that we have thus drawn the whole human race within the vortex of our own ills. We have infected them with our own vices as if they had not already enough of their own. We have set them only too vivid an example of our crimes. We have given them our intellectual doubts. We have conferred upon them our own economic and social fallacies. We have brought to them the contribution of our diseased and deadly individualism, an individualism which, while it is the root of much that is good, is equally the root of much that is evil in our own nations. This individualism, never more marked than in certain current phases of socialistic agitation, is in striking contrast with the solidarity, the community sense, the subordination of the individual to the family and race, which in some form or other almost every Eastern people shows, or at least has shown almost down to our own day.

91. *Other considerations.*—It would indeed be sorrowful if in thus reflecting we could not set over against the evils which we have done, both wittingly and unwittingly, vast and substantial benefits as well. It requires no boastfulness, it does not express mere provincial complacency, if we say that great benefits have been conferred by the West upon the East. The greatest of all the benefits which we have conferred have not been

comforts and luxuries. They are not mere appliances for getting on in life. The greatest benefits have been inner impulses, stimuli to the mental and moral and spiritual existence of those ancient races which we hope may help them to live the life which is being forced upon them as upon ourselves in the new world. In truth the moral and spiritual good which we may yet hope to do is the only offset still possible to the otherwise irremediable harm which we have already done. It is too late to arrest the great movement of the assimilation of the world to Europe which we in these pages are endeavoring to describe. It is too late inanely to mourn over it. For better or for worse, or rather for worse and for better, it has taken place. The Orient, Africa, and the Islands wish to have it continue to take place. We have given so much that it is too late to consider anything now save royally giving the rest. We have given of our outward life. Those of us who have anything which we understand to be the inner secret of our life must give that as well.

92. *Changed view concerning missions.*—Underlying all that has been said in these last few paragraphs is the implication that the Christian propaganda has in some respects changed its point of view within the century and a half which we survey. This is true and these changed aspects of the missionary movement are of great significance. The changes are in a measure parallel to those which we have already observed in the secular movement. They are coincident with changes in the interpretations of Christianity which have taken place in Europe and America within the period of which we speak. The emphases in religion within Christendom

itself were widely different at the end of the nineteenth century from that which they were at the beginning. The main differences may be summarized under two heads.

93. *Absolute religion and revelation.*—It does not admit of question that the pioneers of the missionary movement believed in the Christian religion as an absolute religion, the one faith whereby men could be saved. They viewed the ethnic religions as more or less completely erroneous, creations of the darkened minds and superstitious fears of men, or else bare fragments of an almost forgotten revelation from God. One and all were evil, misleading, and soul-destroying. The zealots were for the most part not aware that in thus arguing they were departing from the nobler tradition of the Christian apologetic as exhibited in Clement of Alexandria and Origen. Furthermore, with their allegiance to the ecumenical creeds and the reformation symbols as embodying the gospel as this fell in original purity from Jesus' lips, with their sense also that their own forms of government or ritual were guaranteed in the words of an oracular Scripture, they could not but expect that the church in China, the Ottoman Empire, or Africa would assume the form which it had had in England or New England and would always keep that form.

94. *Comparative study of religions.*—The scientific study of religions is a development largely of the last generation. The philosophy of religion within that same period has undergone a revolution. Students of the last twenty years have had opportunity to become conversant with these themes. Points of contact and

of contrast in the great faiths of men appeal to us in a manner widely different from that which our fathers understood. Moreover, experience in the field now affects the minds of some devoutest emissaries of Christianity in a way which would once have been esteemed hardly consonant with loyalty. We now feel that the spiritual elements in an indigenous faith are to be joyfully recognized. Its ethical achievements and possibilities should be availed of. The points which unite us to the men to whom we preach should be dwelt on before the points dividing us should be brought into view. This all belongs to a theory of missions which seems to us so axiomatic that we can hardly make real to ourselves that it has not always prevailed.

95. *Studies in the history of Christianity.*—Of even greater significance perhaps than this growing appreciation of the worth of other religions has been an insight which the last half-century has brought us into the nature of our own. The view of the nature and authority of Scripture has been transformed. There has been a kind of contagion of the influence of the historic spirit even among those who possess little or nothing of the learning of the historian. It appears axiomatic to minds of but limited training that all things have had a development, have passed through stages of progress, have unfolded and been but gradually revealed. This dynamic view of all things in the universe, including the fact of religion and the essence of Christianity, is as instinctive with the modern man as was its contrary, the static view of these same matters, three or even two generations ago. Therewith is conceded the relativity of Christian doctrines, institutions, and practices.

Therewith becomes obvious that these all have had in them, besides their permanent factor, an element of that which was partial, passing, adapted to the time which produced it, and giving place under the exigencies of a new time and in the conditions of a new environment. The great revelation was personality. The documents of revelation are nothing but the deposit of some part of the characteristic impulse of that personality, the reminiscence of it, the interpretation of it, with such fidelity as earnest men are capable of and with such errors and idiosyncrasies as nothing human ever quite escapes. There is no creed of Christendom, there is no dogma or system of theology, there is no ritual of worship, there is no rule of practice which has not this composite character, this relativity, this human body and parts.

96. *Religion of the spirit.*—The same historic view has re-created Old Testament studies and given us a history of the people of Israel and of the literature and religion of Israel, truly critical indeed, but full of veneration for all that which the ancient covenant meant to the world. It is the same view which compels us to see in the dogmatic and institutional and social development of Islam most interesting and instructive parallels to corresponding phases in the evolution of Christianity. It is the same view which makes the investigations of primitive religion, in so far as we are able to form any clear picture of the religion of primitive man, so important for the understanding of Christianity itself. We see in certain aspects of current Christianity probable survivals of nature religions and of the religions of the law which antedated the emergence of the religion of

redemption. Few would any longer contend that a religion is to be judged by its origins alone. Most would assert that, on the contrary, the highest religions are to be estimated by their highest stages.

97. *Religion of soul-salvation.*—Again, there has been the greatest change in the estimate of the relation of religion to the life of the world. Those who were at first interested in modern missions truly described themselves as interested mainly in the salvation of souls. The literature of Pietism, the records of the Moravians, the sermons of Carey, the exhortations of the inaugurators of the American movement, leave no doubt as to that. It was not a general program for human amelioration which they had in mind. It was a ministry to the souls of men through the gospel. It was the proclamation of the love of God as manifested in the atonement wrought by Jesus Christ. It was the proclamation of the sufficiency of these benefits if a man had nothing else in the world. The missionaries cannot be blamed for declaring this to the heathen; they believed it for themselves. And indeed upon "the heathen in his blindness" no greater boon ever was conferred or ever can be conferred than just this inward transformation which made him conscious victor over his state, no matter how dreadful that state might be. No higher boon has ever been conferred upon any man anywhere than is this victory of the spirit. It is the identical boon which the gospel upon the lips and in the hands of Jesus conferred. It is the boon in light of which Paul cried, "What things were gain to me, those I counted loss." Rationalists and radicals were alienated from the church at home and hostile to missions abroad on

just this ground. They held that it was narrow and exclusive. They were right. But it was religion. A larger view of the world might modify it. The truest view of the world could never take its place. A world-view is never a substitute for religion. Amelioration is not redemption.

98. *Social salvation.*—Meanwhile a larger view of the world has come to us. We have come to a juster judgment of the relation of religion to the world. It is one of the great achievements of the nineteenth century this transformation in the interpretation of Christianity. The world has become the subject of redemption. The life of the body, the life of the mind, the life which men live in their trades and crafts, in their families and states, in their classes and masses, in their labor and pleasures, this all has been taken up into the great enthusiasm of religion. The church at home is abused for not having earlier realized its privilege and obligation in these regards. A man of insight may quite frankly say that the greatest risk which the cause of religion at the present moment runs is that of coming to construe itself in no other terms than these. If it was once too otherworldly, it is clear that its peril is now that of being too completely and entirely absorbed in aims which begin and end in this life and world. We repeat that the original impulse of Protestant missions was one which concerned itself almost exclusively with the transcendent aspects of the life of man. The pietist has always stood thus over against his world in instinctive opposition to it, shrinking from many contacts with it, mistrustful of its powers, indifferent to its charms, untouched by many of its motives.

99. *The spirit of progress.*—We have swung from one extreme to the other. Christians have repented them of their otherworldliness, even those who had but little of that quality to be repented of. Those who want nothing but civic righteousness and social salvation, economic redemption, commercial ethics, the gospel of hygiene and eugenics, the divine ministry of comfort and even of leisure and pleasure are much in evidence. Phrases like these are the rallying cries of movements within the church and of men without it who would lay down a program for it. They are the watchwords of agitation, the catchwords of popular appeal. The contention here involved is partly valid. It is of vast significance in the new interpretation of religion. What is new is mainly the isolation of the contention. That isolation is false. The contention may answer as a corrective of one-sidedness. It intimates enlarged scope in the application of religion. As an exclusive view of religion or as a substitute for religion it is ridiculous, stupid, and dangerous.

100. *The abiding need.*—When we compare this with the old accusation that missions in their zeal for soul salvation did nothing for the needs of men's bodies and condition we are reminded of the word of One who said that he had piped unto men and they had not danced and mourned unto them and they had not lamented. Nevertheless, here is much wholesome truth. One may keep his soul in the midst of a very miserable world, one may lose it in the midst of a very comfortable one, or, again, one may never develop a soul sufficiently large to be lost. Some of those who most completely lose their souls are not those who have the comforts but are

merely sufficiently set on obtaining them. If Buddha taught men this, it would indeed be a pity that the emissaries of Christ should undo the benefit of the teaching. Religion may be one of the great creators of civilization. It creates civilization, however, only as a by-product. It is not created by civilization, though it is sometimes thus profitably amended. In our precipitancy we should not forget that religion is the only remedy that we have against an inherent tendency of high civilization to destroy character and personality. Nothing is more evident than is this truth in our own nation where yet the civilization which has been the slow achievement of our own ancestors has been paid for in blood and tears which are not altogether forgotten. How much more must this be true in the case in which a complex civilization has been not evolved but simply appropriated, where it has not grown up as part of the nation's life but is simply put on like a new and gaudy but ill-fitting coat. It is absurd to suppose that we can go back to that apprehension of the gospel wherein the present life and world stood for nothing and the transcendent world with the inner life for all. Yet what is needed is still that kind of ministry to character, that alchemy of character, which none among men has ever so exemplified as did Jesus and which true followers of Christ seek to exemplify. It is the alchemy which can make a son of God and a saint out of the most forlorn being in an untransformed world but which will also infallibly set that saint upon the transformation of his world.

101. *Origins of the Society of Jesus.*—Allusion has been made to the part played by the Society or Company

of Jesus, the so-called Order of the Jesuits, as the great agency of the Roman Catholic church in the inauguration of foreign missionary work in the beginning of the era with which we are concerned. The Society was the instrument of many of the changes in the Roman church which together constituted the counter-Reformation. It was the means of the reassertion of characteristic principles of that communion and of the establishment of that church since the Council of Trent in the position which it has taken over against the great fact of the Protestant schism. The activity of the Society in the propagation of the faith in the non-European world is one of its great titles to fame. It unfolded that activity from its earliest years and availed itself of the opportunity afforded by the conquests and commerce of Portugal and Spain in the opening of the new Eastern and Western worlds. Mission work, first among heretics and afterward among the heathen, and education were named as their special tasks by the members of the little company as they defined their objects on their first visit together to Rome in 1537.

102. *Francis Xavier.*—Pope Paul III, by his bull, "Regimini," September 27, 1540, confirmed the new order. New privileges facilitating the ministrations of the company in all parts of the world were conferred in 1545 and 1549, Loyola having been made general in 1541. The member of the original company who devoted himself to foreign missionary work was, however, the Navarrese, Francis Xavier, often called "The Apostle of the Indies." He was a student in Paris at the time that he was won, not without difficulty at the first, by Loyola for his missionary schemes, and he was

one of the seven who took the original vows on Montmartre in 1534. In 1537 the two were at Venice planning to start for Palestine to convert the Moslems. War hindered. Loyola remained henceforth involved in the affairs of administration. Xavier sailed from Lisbon in 1541 and reached Goa in 1542, having been more than a year upon the voyage. In 1549 he went to Japan in company with a Japanese whom he had met at Malacca. On that voyage he formed his plan to go also to China. On the island of Changchuen Shan off the coast of Kwangtung he died of fever in 1552, having given to his society and communion by his faith and energy a foreign missionary impulse which they have never lost.

103. *The Congregation "de Propaganda Fide."*— Missionary work in the new world was later inaugurated also by Franciscans and by groups of monks from certain other orders. There was rivalry among the societies. The Congregation of the Propagation, *de Propaganda Fide*, was established by Gregory XV in 1622 and added to by Urban VIII, who founded the celebrated College of the Propaganda for the education of missionaries and set up a polyglot press for printing liturgical books for the East. The Congregation had charge of the administration of the Roman church in all non-Catholic countries, for which it discharged the functions of all the other papal congregations except in doctrinal and strictly legislative matters. The missions begin everywhere by establishing apostolic prefectures under the charge of priests. The prefecture is later transformed into an apostolic vicariate having at its head a bishop. Finally the hierarchy, that is the diocesan episcopate, is established in the country with residential sees. The

Constitution "Sapienti," in 1908, withdrew from the Propaganda and put under the common law of the church most of those parts of the world in which the hierarchy had been previously established or re-established, as for example in the United States. The Propaganda is the Roman church in its specific missionary activity.

104. *Organizations of the Established Church of England.*—When we come to speak of the organization of the Protestant world for missionary work we meet, in contrast with this imposing unity of the Roman church, bewildering variety. The oldest society in Great Britain is the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. It may claim to be the official representative of the Church of England, since it was brought into existence as the result of a resolution passed by Convocation in 1700 and all diocesan bishops in England are ex officiis members of its standing committee. The Society was founded with the two-fold aim of ministering to English settlers beyond the seas and of spreading the gospel among the heathen with whom the settlers might be brought into contact. It supplied clergy for the dependencies of Great Britain and began work in 1702 among negroes and Indians of North America. This official character of the Society for the Propagation did not, however, prevent the establishment in 1799 of a voluntary organization, the Church Missionary Society, which sent its first missionaries to West Africa. This society was brought into being by the great evangelical and missionary revival which passed over Britain and portions of the Continent and America in the last years of the eighteenth and early years of the nineteenth century.

105. *Other British societies.*—In Scotland, John Knox had declared his belief that the gospel should be preached throughout the whole world. Yet it was in 1796 that the Scottish, afterward called the Edinburgh, Society was organized which sent out as its first missionary a gardener, a member of the Secession Church, who was afterward murdered in West Africa. The Established Church of Scotland formed a Foreign Missions Committee in 1825. When the disruption took place in 1843 by which the Free Church of Scotland came into being the General Assembly of this church formed also a Foreign Missions Committee. Indeed the Free Church movement served vastly to enhance the missionary interest in Scotland, just as the formation of the Church Missionary Society had expressed a new enthusiasm in England. Ever memorable is the formation of the Baptist Mission Society in 1792 as the result of the appeal to his fellow-Baptists by William Carey, the Northamptonshire cobbler who became its first missionary. Typical in another respect is the London Missionary Society founded in 1795. For years it was an interdenominational body, although now sustained chiefly by members of the Congregational church. These are but a few examples of the many organizations for both general and special missionary purposes which the early days of the movement brought forth and later years tended ever to increase.

106. *German Pietists.*—Before this awakening in the British Isles noteworthy endeavors had been put forth on the Continent by German Pietists and by the Moravian church. Indeed, the Pietist and Moravian effort had much to do with the awakening of evangeli-

calism and Methodism in England. Spener, the father of the Pietist movement, did not wish his followers to separate themselves from the Lutheran church. He wished rather to reform that church from within. They wished to return to that devotion to the Bible which had characterized the Lutheran Reformation. Spener's younger colleague, Francke, after 1692 professor in Halle and founder of the famous orphanage and schools for the children of the poor, took deep interest in foreign missions. Halle became the center for the education of men who wished to preach the gospel in foreign parts as well as for those who dedicated themselves to the work of the Pietist revival in Germany. Schwartz, who was perhaps the greatest of the Halle missionaries, worked in Danish possessions in India under state appointment. Men of the same German race and Pietist type worked under the English both in India and in the West Indies during the period before the commercial companies were yet hostile to missions and before the religious mind of Britain had begun to feel its responsibility.

107. *The Moravians; other Continental societies.*— In the little communities of the Moravians, Pietism became the basis of a church which was recognized by the Saxon state. These members of the *Unitas Fratrum*, inheritors of the Hussite tradition, fleeing in 1722 from persecution in Austria, found refuge on the estates of Count Zinzendorf at Bertelsdorf and later at Herrnhut near Dresden. Zinzendorf had been a pupil of Francke at Halle. He withdrew from the service of the state because of his convictions. As bishop of the Moravian community after 1737, he traveled widely in Europe and America. The Moravian church conducted an ardent

propaganda for its principles in many countries. Its chief title to fame, however, is its devotion to the cause of foreign missions. No body of believers in modern times has given so large a proportion of its communicant membership or of its money to missionary work. It was the glory of the Moravians to go to those portions of the world whither no one else wished to go. The general cause received from the Moravians throughout the eighteenth century an impulse which was quite incomparable. The German societies of the present day are all voluntary societies and all bear trace of the Pietist influence. On the other hand, the established Church of Holland has a considerable mission in the Dutch East Indies. The Basel Society has close affiliation with the German organization. The Protestant body in France is small, yet it has done, through its Paris Evangelical Mission Society, a work of great effectiveness in Africa and Madagascar.

108. *American societies.*—The enthusiasm for foreign missions found its first expression in America in 1806 when three students in Williams College, Mills, Hall, and Richards, resolved to form a society, the object of which should be "to effect in the person of its members a mission to the heathen." Mills and Hall entered Andover Seminary in 1810, where they met Newell and Judson, who shared their aims. The desire of these young men to be sent out as missionaries led to the founding by the General Association of Congregational Churches of Massachusetts in 1810 of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. In 1812 the first five missionaries, of whom Judson was one, sailed for Calcutta. Hall was peremptorily ordered by

the Company to leave Calcutta, but he became one of the founders of the Marathi Mission. Judson, during his voyage, had become convinced of the validity of Baptist contentions. He became instrumental in the founding in 1814 of the Society known after 1846 as the American Baptist Missionary Union. He spent his life in Burma. In 1812 the Presbyterians decided to support the American Board. In 1837, however, the so-called Old School Presbyterians withdrew to form the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions. In 1870 the New School Presbyterians also, uniting with the other branch of their church, joined in support of their own denominational board. Similarly, the Reformed Dutch church in America supported the American Board until 1855, when it withdrew to establish a society under its own name. Since 1870 the American Board has been the organ of the Congregational churches only and in ever closer relation to the organization of those churches. The Methodist Episcopal church in the United States inaugurated in 1833 a foreign missionary work which has grown to vast proportions. The Prostestant Episcopal church in the United States sought in 1817 to establish a basis of co-operation with the Church Missionary Society of England, but was urged by that society to organize a work of its own. In 1820 the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of this church was formed, and in 1835 the church itself took over this society, reorganizing it into two committees under the authority of the church. The societies named are but examples. There is scarcely a denomination of Christians in America which is not organized in some way for foreign propaganda. Only typical cases have been taken.

109. *Women's boards.*—Many of the Protestant societies, especially those in America, have auxiliary bodies composed of and directed by women of their denominational constituency. These societies are sometimes merely branches or committees. Sometimes they are special chartered corporations. Many of them were established after the middle of the nineteenth century, when the number of unmarried women sent out in the service of the boards greatly increased. At the same time the expansion of specific work for women in the field rendered appropriate the assigning of such work to the responsibility of women in the home lands. The last half-century has seen great changes in the position and activities of women in Western lands. Large numbers of women teachers and more recently considerable numbers of nurses and physicians have gone to the Orient and to Africa. Zenanas and harems at one time presented a problem which only women could reach. Work for children has always been largely in their hands. Through their work in no small measure have come about the changes in the status and outlook of women in Eastern lands. They have opened careers for women in which foreign women have been for a time the leaders. The education of women is now part of the accepted order of things in almost all these countries. Again the introduction of women into factory labor, as in Japan and India, creates conditions parallel to those which exist in the great industrial centers in the West and calls for the type of women's work familiar in our settlements. Furthermore, in view of the preponderance of women in Protestant churches and of their influence in homes, it is doubtful if the boards could have met

the ever-enlarging opportunity which recent decades have brought them without that characteristic element which the co-operation of women has furnished, both in respect of the maintenance of the personnel and of the appeal for funds.

110. *Origin of the Young Men's Christian Association.*—It remains to speak of two interdenominational organizations, one of which is also international, which have largely aided the foreign missionary work undertaken either by the churches or by bodies of Christians less or more closely related to churches. These are the Young Men's Christian Association and the Bible societies. The Young Men's Christian Association was founded by George Williams, a London merchant, in 1844. It grew out of meetings which Williams held for prayer and Bible reading among his fellow-workers in a dry goods business in the city of London. The primary object of the new Association was to provide a rendezvous in large towns for young men who were compelled to live in lodgings or in apartments provided by the great business houses. Membership was conditioned not merely upon moral character and sympathy with the aims of the Association but also upon the acceptance of the doctrines of evangelical denominations. The Association thus reflected in its very origin the reaction against liberalism. This reaction characterized revival movements widespread and influential in both Great Britain and America in the middle decades of the nineteenth century. At the same time, the Association did really express the eagerness of the time to escape denominational animosities and exaggerations, which were also characteristic of those decades.

111. *Work of the Association.*—Furthermore, its endeavor was related to the growing enthusiasm for the application of the religious motive to the amelioration of social conditions. This was another of the marked traits of the spirit of the age. The associations soon became centers of effort for the popularization of certain elements of education and for the redemption of sport and athletics from connections which had at times been reprobated, by none more sincerely than by earnest Pietists and evangelicals. Upon the lines of these endeavors the Association came presently to have great influence also upon the student life of both England and America. On the whole, the movement appears to have had far larger development in the United States than in the country of its origin. The first American associations were established in Montreal and Boston, both in 1851. The original aims of the institution were thus quite different from those of the foreign missionary cause. The background of the two movements was, however, much the same. It is clear also that the Association could easily become an agency of greatest usefulness both to the youth of Europe and America resident in the commercial centers of the non-Christian world and as well to the youth of non-Christian races as these also gathered in the old treaty ports or again in the rapidly enlarging student centers of the Orient. Modifications of the Association's activities to meet parallel needs of young men of all lands and many faiths gave rise to the international phase of its development. The Association has thus become an auxiliary missionary agency co-operating with others already in foreign fields. It had in mind primarily a

special service and that to a specific constituency, the young men of the lands which the missions and commerce had opened to the contacts of Christendom. It is easy to see also that the organization of the Christian Association has made it capable of rendering unique service to the mission cause in the home lands. By its international and interdenominational character it was peculiarly fitted to act as intermediary in the common interests and transactions of those concerned with missions. As a matter of fact almost all the great international and interdenominational missionary conventions of more recent years have been organized through the machinery of the Association. In growing measure, also, publications relative to the cause and such as are of use to many or all of the societies are issued through agencies which the Association has brought into being. Propaganda among college and university students who might be led to volunteer to give themselves later to the missionary life has been largely conducted through this instrumentality. A similar though as yet a smaller development and influence have attended the Young Women's Christian Association, whose world-organization was formed in 1894. Eighteen national associations are now affiliated. Several of them maintain their characteristic work for women at many centers in foreign lands.

112. *Origin of the Bible societies.*—The same era which brought into being most of the great modern missionary societies witnessed the founding also of the other great co-operating agency which we have in mind, namely the Bible societies. Here also we can choose but one or two typical examples which may serve to

show what is meant. The British and Foreign Bible Society, established in 1804, might be said almost to have had its origin in the phrase of a Mr. Hughes, who, when listening to the claim of needy Wales for copies of the Bible, exclaimed: "And if for Wales, why not for the whole world?" Once this society and others like it were launched upon their world-wide endeavor, the missions which were the creation of the same new enthusiasm were the natural organizations through which the desired distribution of Bibles could take place. They were also the sources whence new suggestions as to needed translations arose. They were the areas from which alone, in most cases, the translators were forthcoming. On the other hand, once the missions had faced their task, they must have realized that the books which the Bible societies furnished could multiply the endeavors of their evangelists and preachers a thousand fold. They could be to the nascent Christian communities all over the world the basis of culture, the means of the uplifting and fortifying and educating of the spirit of nations, just as the Bible had been in all the nations of the Protestant world since the era of the Reformation. As we look back upon the history of these two movements either seems almost unthinkable without the other.

113. *The work of the Bible societies.*—The British and Foreign Bible Society published in connection with its hundredth anniversary in 1904 a monumental catalogue of its collection of Bibles, a collection which from many points of view is without rival in the world. It is a book of four large volumes. It contains more than nine thousand entries of Bibles or parts of Bibles in

more than six hundred distinct languages or dialects which are now spoken, and in some eighty which are now obsolete. In overwhelming proportion these versions have been published by one or another of the three great Bible societies—the British, the American, and the Scottish—or else they have been made possible through subvention from one or another of these societies to missionary presses in all lands. It may be doubted whether the Bible existed in thirty different languages or dialects in the year 1804, in which the British Society received its charter. In overwhelming proportion these translations, made during the nineteenth century, are the work of missionaries and of native scholars called to their aid in the fields in which the missionaries worked. In some cases, as in those of the versions into the Mandarin or into Arabic, or for the benefit of the Brahmans in India or the Buddhists in Japan, the work has been commonly done by commissions, groups of men, Christian and non-Christian, equal in learning to any scholars of their day. These translators aimed to set the Scriptures of the Christian faith in worthy fashion side by side with sacred books of the East in the very homes of those sacred books and the seats of their immeasurable influence. At the opposite pole from these relatively few translations into the languages of the world's great religions are the far more numerous cases in which the tongues of the various peoples whom it was sought to reach had perhaps never been reduced to writing. They contained but poor equivalents, or no equivalents whatsoever, for the words and phrases fundamental to the Christian speech. Jest has been made as to the difficulty of

translating, for example, a psalm touching the praise of God in nature as men know nature in Palestine into the language, say, of the Eskimos upon their treeless shores, with their limited fauna and their frozen streams. There was the difficulty of describing sheep and camels and even horses to a South Sea islander, whose only quadrupeds were pigs and rats. These are, however, minor difficulties compared with the rendering of such words as "faith," "justification," "atonement," "sanctification," and "redemption," into the speech of peoples whose very religion contained no such notions. Such translations have, however, been made not only scores but hundreds of times in the nineteenth century. They have been made almost inevitably by missionaries who were giving their lives to the tribes or the islands concerned. The American Bible Society alone issued in the year 1915 something over six million copies of Bibles, or parts of the Bible, in some one of the one hundred and sixty-nine different languages on its list. In the hundred years of its existence it had issued more than one hundred and ten million copies of the Bible or of portions of the Bible. It had spent $38,000,000. The British and Foreign Bible Society, in its first hundred and twelve years, from 1804 to 1916, had four hundred and ninety-seven languages to its credit on its list of versions. It had issued three times as many copies of Bibles or of parts of the Bible as the American Society and had spent two and one-half times the income. It is certain that the major societies have put into circulation within the last century more than five hundred million copies of the Scriptures, by no means all gratis yet practically always below cost.

PART II

HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT WITH INDICATIONS OF THE PRESENT SITUATION IN DIFFERENT LANDS

CHAPTER VII

INDIA

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INDIA

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CHAPTER VII

INDIA

114. *Beginnings of Christianity in India: Francis Xavier.*—India was the first Asiatic country in which Christian missionary work was organized after that revival of the spirit of missions which culminated in the establishment of the Society of Jesus. There is a legend to the effect that the apostle Thomas preached the gospel in Southern India. His tomb is shown today at Mylapore. The tradition is not of very ancient origin. The name "India" was used by early Christian writers for several different countries. We are perhaps on firm ground if we connect the beginnings of Christianity in India with the wanderings of Nestorian exiles. References in Marco Polo, John of Monte Corvino, and Sir John Mandeville prove the presence of Christians in India in considerable numbers before the coming of the Portuguese. In 1500 Cabral brought to Calicut monks, Franciscans and Dominicans, who were to conduct mission work under the patronage of the king of Portugal. In 1534 Goa was constituted a bishopric. Its constituency was mainly of Europeans and of men of mixed race. In 1599 the Portuguese endeavored to force so-called Syrian Christians into obedience to the See of Rome. In 1816 the English Church Missionary Society sent a "mission of help" to revive the Syrian church in India. The man to whom, however, the personal leadership in work for India was to fall was Francis Xavier. He arrived at

Goa in 1542. Before that time thousands of the pearl fishers of low caste had suffered themselves to be baptized in return for protection afforded them by Portuguese soldiers and sailors against Mohammedan pirates. No priest had been sent among them to teach the meaning of baptism. Xavier spent a year among them, living as one of their number. At no time during the years of his residence in India did he make effort to learn any language in which he might communicate with those among whom he labored. He urged the king of Portugal to force the governors, by fear of royal disfavor, to gain adherents for Christianity. The bishopric claimed 300,000 Christians in 1557. We have many interesting letters of Xavier. It is but fair to say that he was profoundly dissatisfied with the results of his labor. There is, moreover, no Christian missionary concerning whom it is more just to acknowledge his personal devotion and his power to inspire others, while at the same time we realize that he was the child of his own time.

115. *Xavier's successors and their methods.*—A distinguished Italian Jesuit, di Nobili, who reached India in 1605, inaugurated his work outside of the area in which Portuguese political influence prevailed. He determined to make himself an Indian in order that he might win Indians to Christ. He adopted the dress of a Brahman and put the sacred marks upon his forehead. He kept himself aloof from the lower castes. Among di Nobili's successors, those who worked for the higher castes refused intercourse even with missionaries who worked for the lower castes. In 1703 the papacy repudiated many of these practices of the

Jesuits, especially condemning the refusal of the communion to pariahs. There is record of measurable success of the Jesuit missions in Northern India also, especially at the court of the Mogul Emperor Akbar. Three princes of the royal blood are supposed to have been baptized at Lahore in 1670. Yet despite much labor and self-denial the testimony of the Abbé Dubois in 1823 was to the effect that Roman Catholic missionary work in the part of India of which he had knowledge was relatively a failure. The attitude of the natives was such as to render the prosecution of the work almost hopeless. The suspension of the Society of Jesus in 1773 had everywhere injured their work. The missionary work of the Roman church at the beginning of the nineteenth century deeply needed, as it also received, a revival and renewal parallel in many ways to that which affected the Protestant bodies at the same time.

116. *Beginnings of Protestant missions: the Pietists.* —The British East India Company, especially in its earlier years, permitted chaplains sent out under its auspices to consider also the religious welfare of Indians with whom they came in contact. The Company had not yet taken up the attitude of hostility to missions which it later assumed. It was the Danish government which first took direct responsibility for Protestant missionary work in India. The court chaplain of King Frederick IV, not being able to find suitable men in Denmark, applied to Francke in Halle. Francke named to him Ziegenbalg and Plütschau, who were sent out from Copenhagen by the bishop of Zealand in 1705. Ziegenbalg worked in Tranquebar, winning the aid of

the English Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge and the favor of King George I. Plütschau made the Tamil translation of the New Testament. The most distinguished of these German Pietist missionaries, however, was Schwartz. First at Tranquebar and then at Trichinopoly, he ultimately became a sort of minister to the rajah of Tanjore. He lived in India for nearly fifty years. He left the Danish mission in 1767 and became a chaplain under the British Company. The rajah before his death, in 1787, desired to appoint Schwartz the guardian of his heir and regent of his kingdom. To both of these posts he was appointed two years later by the British authorities. The commander of the British army in South India wrote in 1783: "The knowledge and integrity of this irreproachable missionary have retrieved the character of Europeans from imputations of general depravity." When Hyder Ali, the nawab of Mysore, refused to receive an embassy from the English, whom he distrusted, he said, "Send me the Christian, Schwartz will not deceive me." The monument which the East India Company erected to his memory in Madras in 1798 speaks of him as having rendered incomparable service to the highest ends which the Company set before itself.

117. *The India of the eighteenth century.*—The eighteenth century had been a century of great changes in India. The Mogul Empire founded in 1526 by Baber, fifth in descent from Tamerlane, was disintegrating. Its greatest figure had been Akbar, who reigned from 1556 to 1605, almost exactly the years of Queen Elizabeth, and over a larger portion of India than had ever

before acknowledged the sway of one man. He ruled at Delhi and Agra, his son Jahangir at Lahore. The last emperor of character or ability had been Aurungzeb, who died in 1707. Thenceforth the empire of the Grand Mogul became more and more a name, although the last scion of the house atoned for his association with the Mutiny so late as 1857. The decline of the Mogul power had made easier the beginnings of European trade and settlement on the coast, although the Moguls, who had come from Tartary over the roof of the world, were never interested in the coast. The Dutch had "factories," as they were called, on Ceylon and Sumatra. In 1608 they founded Batavia in Java. The long warfare of Dutch and English for commerce in the East was not ended until William III united the two crowns in 1689. Sir Francis Drake had shown the way for Englishmen to India. By 1612 they had wrested supremacy from the Portuguese. In 1661 the British received Bombay as part of the dowry of the Infanta Catarina and Charles turned it over to the Company. Calcutta was not founded until 1690. After the death of Aurungzeb, Hyderabad declared its independence. The Carnatic was ruled from Arcot. Mysore was becoming a third Indian state. The French were at Pondicherry skilfully playing off one nation against the other and all against their rivals, the English, at Madras. Clive turned Dupleix' weapons against himself. The Battle of Plassey in 1757, which was really an episode of the rivalry of France and England in the Seven Years' War, put an end to French supremacy in India. Clive's great successor, Warren Hastings, came to India in 1772. He triumphed in the

Marathi wars and over Mysore. His government of India brought out bitter protest in England and marked the beginning of the struggle for the limitation of the power of the Company. His successor, Lord Mornington, better known as the Marquis of Wellesley, arrived the very year of the death of Schwartz, 1798, inspired with imperial projects which were destined to change the map of the country.

118. *Beginnings of British missions: Heber and Henry Martyn.*—It would be a mistake to suppose that during all the time of this remarkable expansion of their trade and territory the British people had had no care for the maintenance of the means of grace and the extension of the knowledge of the gospel in the lands which were gradually being subjected to the crown. From the time of Cranmer different movements for colonization had recognized in principle, at least, the necessity of Christian missions. The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge was organized in 1698, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, in 1701. This society gave a subvention to the Danish-Tamil mission in 1705. Throughout the latter part of that century it sent chaplains to India, who were allowed to do a certain measure of missionary work. Until the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, the interest of the Church of England in such work in India was not great. It was the Church Missionary Society, a chartered body, which represented the evangelical revival of the spirit of missions. It was founded in 1799. The bishops declined to ordain its candidates and it was not until 1819 that this difficulty was removed. It ought to be said that the

field which the Church Missionary Society at first had in mind was Africa. Its founders were, many of them, agitators against slavery and the slave trade. Its first missionary went to India in 1813 after the opening of India to such work under the revised charter of the Company. At the instigation of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Middleton was consecrated first bishop of Calcutta in 1814. The most distinguished of the early bishops was surely Reginald Heber, who died in 1826. Henry Martyn, starting from a company chaplaincy, was easily the most illustrious of those who developed an enthusiasm for work among the peoples, first of India and then of Persia. He was a linguist of extraordinary attainments. He translated the New Testament into both Hindi and Persian. He was at Cawnpore until 1810 and died at Tokat in 1812, in the thirty-second year of his age, having made overland journeys which were then almost unparalleled and left record of the countries and peoples which are still classic and made the impression of a man of exalted character and devotion.

119. *Carey.*—In 1793, however, there had come to Bengal William Carey, a cobbler of Paulersbury, Northamptonshire, who had been sent out by the newly founded Baptist Missionary Society of Great Britain in 1792. Carey was the impersonation of the new impulse which was now to make itself felt among the people of Great Britain as it had done in the Pietist Moravian communities in Germany. He was of limited education and income, preacher in a Baptist church at Moulton after 1786. He had wished at first to go to Tahiti or West Africa. He was appointed along with

Thomas, a surgeon who had resided in Bengal. He was obliged by the attitude of the Company to sail in a Danish vessel and to land at Serampore. He believed that it was his duty to support himself. He intended to farm, but was soon chosen superintendent of an indigo factory. He preached, taught, and translated the New Testament into Bengali. When Fort William College was founded at Calcutta under the Company, Carey was appointed by the Marquis of Wellesley professor of Sanskrit, Bengali, and Marathi, a post which he held for thirty years. That which gave him his fame, however, was his translation of the Bible or parts of the Bible into twenty-four Indian languages or dialects. He showed extraordinary ability in his management of the Serampore press, where all this great business was carried on. He wrote articles on the natural history and botany of India for the Asiatic Society of London, of which society he was a member after 1805. He worked passionately for many reforms in India, especially for the abolition of suttee, the burning of widows on the funeral pyres of their husbands. When in 1829 Lord William Bentinck signed the decree abolishing the rite the paper was sent to Carey to be translated into Bengali. Carey died in 1834. He was one of the most modern of missionaries. To a far greater extent than any of his predecessors he realized the comparative futility of scattered missions and the impossibility of converting India by the work of European traveling preachers. By concentrating the greater part of his activities within a narrow circle and by spending his time upon the education and training of Indian teachers

he inaugurated a new method of missionary work the importance of which it is still impossible to exaggerate.

120. *Duff.*—The impersonation of another movement in Indian missions which has been very fruitful was Alexander Duff. Duff was the first missionary sent out to India by the Established Church of Scotland. In right of nature he was fitted to be a great educational figure in his own land. He was a Saint Andrew's University man and had been much influenced by Dr. Chalmers. He came to India in 1830, having been at sea eight months and shipwrecked twice upon the way. He determined to strike into the great educational movement which had lain as an ideal before Carey and which in quite different aspects of it was beginning to be one of the concerns of the Company. He realized the necessity of reaching the higher classes. He proposed to provide schools for youth of the higher castes of Northern India in which, through the medium of the English language, a liberal education in all subjects was to be offered to those who were willing to receive Christian instruction at the hands of missionaries thoroughly competent in educational matters. He thought English the only language in which, as things then were, a comprehensive Western education could be given in India. He thought also that it was the only language in which foreigners at all events could make plain to Indians the meaning of the Christian faith. The Company, on their part, had in mind the multiplicity of languages and dialects in India and the necessity of a common medium of communication. They hoped that an English education would tend to

bind the higher classes to England. Duff's schools were filled and emptied several times upon the issue of his insistence upon instruction in the Christian religion. The government schools were naturally on the basis of strict religious neutrality. Nevertheless, Duff and his compeers exerted the greatest influence upon the whole government system of education in India exactly in the period of its most rapid and significant expansion. Lord Bentinck officially declared that Duff's schools had produced unparalleled results. Interestingly enough Duff was supported in his views by Ram Mohan Ray, who became one of the great leaders of reformed Hinduism. Duff, broken down, left India in 1863. By that time there was hardly a great denomination of Christians in India which had not founded colleges practically on Duff's lines.

121. *The first American missionaries.*—The first missionaries of the American Board, Nott and Hall, also went to India. When they sailed in 1812 America was at war with England and the East India Company had not yet accepted the clause in its charter which permitted missionary work. Rebuffed at Calcutta, the Americans determined to begin their work in Ceylon and Bombay. The present work of the Board in the Indian Empire thus dates from 1816. Emissaries of this Board were at Ahmednagar after 1831 and at Madura in 1836. The withdrawal of a part of the Presbyterian constituencies from co-operation with the American Board in 1837 had been already forecast by the establishment, under the Presbyterian name, of American missions in the United Provinces and the Punjab. Judson, who had brought into being the Baptist Soci-

ety, opened the work in Burma, which was not yet subject to Great Britain. He was a man who might well be measured by the standards of Carey. On the whole the American work in India in the period before the Mutiny was mainly on evangelistic lines. Yet most of the American missions in India in the decade of the fifties were beginning to feel strongly those tendencies which have been suggested in what we said of Duff. A deputation sent out to visit American Board work in India in 1855 had reported in a sense adverse to educational work. The report had been accepted at home only after two years' delay and not without dissent. Changes were soon to be precipitated by the catastrophe of the Mutiny, the so-called Sepoy Rebellion, which altered everything in India. The revolt led to the revocation of the Company's charter in 1858, to the taking over of the government of India by the crown and parliament, and to the readjustment of commerce on the basis of free trade. The revolution thus constitutes a dividing line between two eras in the affairs of India.

122. *Antecedents of the Mutiny.*—There had been since 1813 significant changes in the charter of the Company, all of them in the direction of the limitation of its arbitrary power and the increase of its responsibility for the welfare of subject peoples. Lord William Bentinck, who was governor-general from 1828 to 1835, was the first of a succession of rulers of British India of a character and benevolent spirit perhaps as high as have marked the administration of any land. In the famous words of Macaulay, Bentinck "abolished cruel rites, he effaced humiliating distinctions, he gave liberty

to the expression of public opinion, his constant study was to elevate the intellectual and moral character of the nations committed to his charge." He established a just and effective system of finance. He widened the gates by which Indians could enter the service of the Company. His abolition of suttee and his suppression of the thugs, based as they were upon his sense of what a government owed in the fostering of mercy and preventing of crime, may nevertheless have left ground for appeal to the fanaticism of a portion of the people. In his time the Company lost its monopoly of trade. Lord Dalhousie, governor from 1848 to 1856, was, again, a man of peace but was compelled to fight two wars, one for the pacification of Oudh and the other in Burma. The system of administration carried out in the conquered Punjab by the two Lawrences was probably one of the most difficult and most successful pieces of work of the sort ever performed by Englishmen. Dalhousie founded the public works department and paid special attention to roads and canals. He promoted steamer communication with England via the Red Sea and a camel route at the Isthmus. He introduced cheap postage and the telegraph. One would have said that the causes of unrest in India were diminishing with every year. The things which the rebels demanded were rapidly being granted. The government of the Company had, however, been at one time profoundly selfish and unjust. The increase of enlightenment and liberty always makes for unrest. Dethroned princes and their heirs naturally became leaders, but the seat of the rebellion was really in the lower orders. If Bentinck's policy had touched their

superstitions, Dalhousie's introduction of things characteristically Western stirred their prejudice. The number of English troops in India had been reduced by the Crimean War. Russia was supposed to be winning that war. A little thing proved an occasion. New rifles served to the Sepoys used cartridges which required to be bitten by the teeth in loading. The cartridges were greased with beef tallow or hog's fat. The one of these was sacred to a Hindu and the other an abomination to a Moslem. The growth of missionary enterprise in India lent color to the notion that here was a deep-laid plot to compel the native army to become Christians by making them outcasts from their own religions.

123. *The Mutiny and its consequences.*—In April, 1857, part of a cavalry regiment at Meerut refused to accept their cartridges. The rest of the troops resented the punishment of the offenders and shot their officers, plundered the quarters, and streamed off to Delhi. The Delhi troops and city mob proclaimed a revival of the Mogul Empire. There were but three thousand British troops at Delhi. They were driven out, but, reinforced from the Punjab, they returned and captured the city on September 21. Meantime, Cawnpore under Nana Sahib had been the scene of an indiscriminate massacre in which many missionaries with many civil servants suffered. Lucknow was another center of the struggle. At the beginning of the siege there Sir Henry Lawrence lost his life. The Mutiny was in no sense a national uprising. The fighting races of the Punjab never cast in their lot with the rebellion. The Sikhs and Gurkhas remained faithful. The chief

result of the Mutiny was that it ended the rule of the Company. There have been considerable additions of territories to the British domain since the Mutiny. The most significant of these is Burma. Apart from minor wars, however, the attention of rulers and people has been given to the development of India on lines already laid down before the rebellion. Education has been carried forward on a great scale, not merely the higher training, but also education in the vernaculars for the lower orders of the people. The expansion of the railway systems and the state expenditure for irrigation have diminished the liability of famine. The freedom of the press and of speech is that accorded in England. An Indian National Assembly has no legislative power but greatly influences public opinion. The part taken by India in the present war shows how deep is the sense of what Britain has done for India. Equally it makes certain that Great Britain must and will do more.

124. *Expansion of mission work after the Mutiny.*— Missions had suffered severely during the rebellion. Few of the northern stations had escaped destruction. Many native Christians had laid down their lives rather than deny their faith. It is a commonplace in the history of missions that nothing so stimulates interest in the cause as does an experience like that through which the missions and the incipient Indian churches had passed. The places of missionaries who had lost their lives in the Mutiny could have been filled ten times over the moment the facts were known in England and America. Not merely did all the societies formerly engaged in this work resume their activities on an

enlarged scale, but new communions henceforth included India in their plans. Among these was the Methodist Episcopal church of North America, whose most conspicuous personalities in this period were perhaps Bishop Thoburn and his sister Isabella Thoburn. Special organizations came into being for the meeting of specific needs. For example, the great expansion of medical work done under missionary auspices in India, as indeed in all other fields, has come since the decade of the fifties. Dr. John Scudder, a missionary physician of the American Board, had lived in Ceylon after 1819 and in Madras after 1836. Yet in 1849 it was said that there were but forty medical missionaries in the world and only six of these in India. Similarly, work for women supported and carried out by women was greatly enlarged in scope in the decade of the sixties. The peculiarly hard position and hopeless outlook of certain classes of women in India had even earlier made appeal in England. A society for work in the Zenanas had been founded in London in 1852. To a certain extent the increasing zeal for work by women on behalf of women corresponded to a change which was rapidly taking place in regard to the education and general status of women in England and America. Similarly, certain conditions of manufacturing and trade stimulated in extraordinary degree the production of newspapers, journals, and books in Europe and America in the decade of the sixties. By the decade of the seventies the increase in the variety and volume of printed matter of every sort issued in India had become phenomenal. The education of a reading public, both in the vernaculars and in English, had begun to tell.

Propaganda for every cause, native and foreign, was being conducted in print. The propaganda for Christianity, both in the vernacular and in English, followed the example thus set. A devotional and also a controversial literature appeared for which India before the Mutiny offered no parallel. The truth was that India after 1860 was in the great stream of the life of the world as it had never been before.

125. *Sectarianism.*—The two generations which have passed since the Mutiny have laid ever-increasing emphasis upon the needs of the indigenous church. The work of propaganda until the middle of the nineteenth century, largely evangelistic as it had been, had resulted in the formation of many bodies of Christian believers the land over. These had given full evidence of their faith and fortitude in endurance of the sufferings which the time of the Mutiny brought upon them. The Christian converts were as yet in little groups about the different missions from which they had heard the message of the gospel. They were lamentably divided on the lines of denominational distinctions which obtained in England and America. Not merely the great division between Catholics and Protestants, but those separating Anglicans from either Catholics or Protestants and again those among the sects and subdivisions of Protestants were in evidence. Distinctions which had little meaning for a Hindu divided him from fellow-Christians to whom Christianity meant as much as to himself. The docility of the Indian of that era, his gentleness and tractability toward the race which dominated India, together with the rather uncompromising sectarianism which obtained in England and

America at that time had this consequence. There was as yet no strong feeling of "India for the Indians." There was no democracy in India as yet. The churches were in an extraordinary degree missionaries' churches. Some of the foreign leaders of the native Christians showed high qualities of leadership. It would be wrong to impugn their motives. They knew no other system. Yet as we now see clearly this was only a passing phase. No wonder that practically everywhere in the districts of the rebellion the Indian Christians were taken for enemies of their race. They were held to have gone over completely to the foreigner, to have turned against their own people. Christianity was still exotic in India. It was the white man's religion, in which the Indian might become a follower but never a leader. It was alien in form of doctrine, in ritual of worship, and in the mode of life which it enjoined.

126. *Caste.*—There was another respect in which the body of Christian believers in India was sorely divided and is more or less divided still. This was upon the lines of Hindu castes. Difficulties which the Jesuits met in dealing with questions of caste we have already spoken of. It has been easier for Protestants to find fault with the Jesuit method than to find a method of their own. Certainly they never escaped the difficulty. The idea that all men are alike in the sight of God is one which seems to us near to the heart of the gospel. It is almost the last conviction possible to the mind of a Hindu. He had held it to be the very evidence of the consciousness of God to wish to keep away from the company of the large majority of his fellow-men. In those circumstances the Christian

appeal, when true to itself, has often practically been an appeal to the lowest of the people, with whom no Hindu of caste would associate. It was easy to quote Christ's precept and example. But it was difficult to build up an indigenous church on this basis with power of leadership and responsibility. Here was an additional reason why the management of the churches had been so largely thrown into the hands of missionaries. Yet it has never been difficult to secure a hearing, interested and enthusiastic, for Christian principles among men of high caste. The Hindu is profoundly religious. He sees many points of comparison between the Christian doctrine and his own. He has attempted the reformation of his own doctrine on the basis of principles allied to or identical with the Christian. He may even become a Christian at heart. To join the Christian communion, however, breaks practically every tie in his life. He is separated from his family. He may be driven from his business. He is ostracized more completely than we of the West can easily conceive. Conviction must be strong indeed before a man faces this. The wonder is that so many have faced it. Successful propaganda for Christianity within a given caste may diminish the loneliness of the convert from that caste, but divides the Christian church within itself on the old caste lines. Mohammedanism is often said to have been successful in keeping itself free from the spirit of caste. It must be remembered, however, that Mohammedans in India are almost always such by birth and inheritance of many generations since the Mohammedan conquests. Accessions to Mohammedanism by conversion are now as good as unknown.

Through the long era of the Mogul Empire the leading persons of many parts of India were Mohammedans. To a certain extent it is an illusion to say that the Mohammedans do not know caste. They are a caste in the sense of being a religious group by themselves.

127. *Language.*—Moreover, as if in the ecclesiasticism of foreigners and in the caste of the Indians there were not difficulties enough in the way of a united and national Indian Christian constituency, there are added difficulties which arise out of the differences in language and dialect. These remind us of the old racial strata, which in the history of India have lain the one over the other and formed social conditions which have banned unnumbered generations practically to the same spot. India is not a nation. It is made up of at least three major races which have amalgamated very little. India has two chief families of languages which present more than a hundred dialects, of which at least thirty are spoken by more than a million persons each. To this day the appeal of Christianity is in large measure to the lower castes and simpler people. This is exactly the area of the population in which the language difficulty is at its greatest. The higher classes may speak English and even read Sanskrit. The lower orders know only their own dialect. Preaching must be done in the vernacular. Rudimentary schools must furnish instruction in the dialect. Industrial education must be conducted in the dialect. A Christian literature of edification and devotion must be created in the dialect. This fact again makes the sense of unity and effectiveness in the Indian Christian church very hard to attain. All general efforts of Indian Christians are apt to be

carried on through the medium of English. All general expressions are set forth in a foreign tongue.

128. *The indigenous church.*—Nevertheless, in a degree which is amazing when one considers the difficulties, there is growing up that which may fairly be called an Indian Christendom. There is an indigenous Christianity which by direct and indirect influence brings Christian ideas and principles into contact with every area of life. There has been continued and magnanimous effort of more enlightened missionaries to do away with the denominational obstacles. The word "devolution" has been applied to the movement which is now going on in the Indian church. It is the effort to reverse the process by which that church was evolved under the hand of missionaries and to turn it over to the Indians themselves. All sacrifices which missionaries and sects, even proud established churches, must make in this regard are as nothing compared with the sacrifices which are made by Indians of higher station, judges in the courts, advocates at the bar, officers high in civil service, editors, merchants, men free to devote themselves to philanthropy and reform, when these come out openly as members of the Christian churches and take leading place in the Christian movement in this land. Such men increase in number every year. Exactly at the highest levels of society and among men most seriously minded the number increases also of those who are less or more convinced of certain Christian truths but who for any one of many reasons are not likely ever to take the step of outward and formal association with the Christian institution as such. On the other hand, it is from this

same class that the largest number of recruits comes for the ranks of those who as the result of their education, of their tastes and occupations, have indeed lost hold upon their ancestral faith but have no disposition to put another in the place.

129. *The Christian movement.*—In India, as in England and America, organized Christianity, the church, is but the nucleus of the Christian movement, the center of the radiation of an influence of the spirit of Christ which manifests itself far beyond the boundaries of those who are willing to be called by the Christian name. The number of converts which the various churches can show, the additions to this number which each year records, have therefore no more significance in India than in America and no less. Meantime a phenomenon has been witnessed in South India in comparatively recent years which seems most strange when one reflects upon the history and principles of Protestant missions. This is the phenomenon of mass movements toward Christianity. Whole villages come over *en masse* and are proclaimed by the village elders as Christian villages. This movement, in so far as we are able to imagine how it presents itself to the native mind, is probably connected with the breaking down of caste, a process which is going on in India from many other causes than that of religious propaganda. The village wishes to organize its civil and economic life on the basis which it observes in Christian society. How far such a state of things is from being equivalent to the conversion of every individual in the community no one needs to be told. How great an obligation is thus imposed upon a neighboring mission if it accepts

the invitation to send missionaries to organize Christian life in the community is evident. How long will it be before these people ought to be counted for the Christian church, unless we are to lose all sense of what the Christian church is? The Roman Catholics have generally been in favor of such movements, so strong is the principle of Christian nurture with them. Protestants have generally resisted mass movements as long as they could. They have, however, of late sometimes felt they would be ashamed if they were not able to use such an opportunity for a real Christian end. The government census has no way of knowing anything but the number of those who profess the Christian faith within the religious organizations. That number is assuredly in some cases less than the number of those who would be judged by a devoted missionary as entitled to bear the Christian name. In other cases also it is greater. Premising this, the figures are certainly interesting. In the decade from 1901 to 1911 the population of India increased 6.4 per cent. The Indian Christians, Roman, Anglican, and Protestant, increased in the same decade 34.2 per cent, or five times as fast as the population of British India. In no decade of the last four has the increase been less than 22 per cent. In 1911 the total number of church members, not counting Europeans, was 3,574,770, or one in every eighty-six of the population.

130. *Missions and the industrial situation; government co-operation.*—The missions have had at all times a certain proportion of their adherents who had lost their means of livelihood along with their separation from caste. The need of developing new modes of

employment and in some way providing for the subdivision of labor within the Christian community thus made itself felt. Attention would early have been turned to industrial education had the theory and practice of such education been developed in Europe or America in the first half-century of expanding mission work in India. As a matter of fact even the name "industrial education" is relatively a modern one. When the minds of missionaries and of government officials in the old days dwelt upon the need of education in India they thought of the old-fashioned education of the few for leadership. The schools and colleges established by both those agencies were directed to the end of the development of Indian leadership in state and church. Yet when the evolution of industrial education came the British government in India felt even more strongly than did the missionaries that there was a vast portion of the population of India which needed to be helped in this way. There are few countries in the world so poor as India. One reason at least of this dire poverty is the uniformity of employment. Nine-tenths of the population live by agriculture and that an agriculture of the most primitive sort. There are or were until very recently few large cities in India, only innumerable villages with their tracts of minutely subdivided cultivable land about them. Agriculture itself needed improvement by the application of modern scientific methods and machinery. The resources of India would justify a high development of industrial and commercial life. The Indian peoples have skill and taste as artisans. Heretofore they have almost always been exploited by outsiders in marketing

their commodities. The caste system had had effect in preventing choice and mobility in employment. Christianity represented the first great breach in that system and contributed much to this freedom and mobility. Government has not been slow to seize upon those advantages. Confronted by the necessity of the development of industrial education and change of the mode of life of large strata of the population, it quickly realized that that task far outwent its powers. It availed itself of the help of the beginnings which the missions had often made. It availed itself of the devoted staff which the missions furnished. On the other hand, the missions were enabled thus in co-operation with the government to do their work on a scale which they never could have afforded. Industrial education is relatively expensive. It leads to complications in trade which missions do well to avoid. Government subsidizes mission schools of this sort up to a large percentage of their cost. The mission industrial schools on their part gain the advantage of government inspection and standard. Certain classes, and it may be of interest to add certain criminal classes, have been set apart to the sole care of missions in this regard.

131. *Missions and education.*—The remarks thus made concerning industrial education lead on to that which is to be said concerning education in general in India. Government under the Company actually anticipated missions in the establishment of institutions of higher learning, and there was every reason why they should, so soon as they conceived it to be their duty to do anything for Indians at all. When they came to look forward to participation of Indians in the govern-

ment it was clear that some Indians must be trained for that participation. The Company had abundant means for such work. The missions, on the other hand, had at the first not only little or no means for such tasks, but they were then so nearly limited to the lowest strata of society that it required the genuine faith of educated men to look forward to the leadership of an educated ministry in the Christian community. There are now nineteen institutions connected with Protestant societies which carry their students up to the Bachelor's degree. Eleven of them provide work in addition for those seeking the Master's degree or professional courses. They are all subject to government supervision as to the giving of degrees. They have about five thousand students. The five great government universities, those of Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, the Punjab, and Allahabad, united as one examining board, have approximately thirty thousand students. Some of those, like Calcutta, go back to foundations made by officers under the Company at the end of the eighteenth century. A new university under Hindu auspices is being established at Benares. A college founded and sustained by Mohammedans exists at Aligarh. Both of these last receive grants in aid from the government, coming thus under government inspection. Practically all of the Christian colleges mentioned above receive such grants in aid and are under such inspection. Most of them have the rank of affiliated colleges of one or another of the universities. Secondary education in India was never thoroughly taken in hand by the government until 1854. Prompted then by the famous educational dispatch of Sir Charles

Wood, the rulers sought to lay the foundations of a government school system on a grand scale. Not until 1882 did the elementary schools feel the full impetus of the educational movement. To this day only 32.8 per cent of the boys of school age in British India attend school, and only 5.9 per cent of the girls. Within these areas the missions are far in advance of the government. Their school system is a generation older. The proportion of the children in the Christian communities who attend schools of these grades is far higher. Until quite recently the only schools for women were mission schools. To this day, despite the excellency of the government schools in which strict religious neutrality prevails, and despite the founding of private schools for both sexes and all classes by generous donors eager for their own faiths, many pupils from non-Christian families attend the mission schools. They acknowledge that what they seek is the moral life and religious atmosphere of these schools. Particularly is this true of the girls' schools. Schools established by missions for defectives, as for example the blind, are still far in advance of the government schools.

132. *Philanthropy and reform.*—This last phrase leads us to consider the immense increase in India within the last two generations of organizations and agencies for the prosecution of every sort of charity, philanthropy, and reform. In the order of time at which they have come into being these institutions may be classified as mission activities, efforts of well-disposed foreigners, government agencies, finally and of late on a great scale the activities of Indians themselves. Indians of

every race and every faith have come to vie with one another in the alleviation of misery and in the investigation of the causes of distress rife in a land of such dense population and of such incredible poverty. Missions have turned over no small part of the work of this sort inaugurated by them to the government. Reforms which missionaries once stood alone in demanding are now far better advocated by representatives of the Indian peoples themselves. How great a change this cult of mercy in modern India constitutes one may realize who will read the literature of India before the Mutiny. There has been large development in this direction during the same years in Europe and America. No one can ever have failed to feel the contrast between the gentleness of the Indian mind and the indifference to suffering which certainly characterized Indian life until comparatively recent years. A view fundamental to Buddhism and significant even for Hinduism, the view of the worthlessness of life and the meaninglessness of the world, had much to do with this. Life itself was so great an evil that all other evils were small by comparison. To prolong life might only be to enhance misery. To alleviate suffering might be only to increase it in the end. Our Western World had certainly gone to absurd lengths in the prosperous years before the war in its sensitiveness to suffering. The Hindu had always seen these relations differently. It is one of the chief titles to praise of missions in India that they have largely changed the atmosphere of life in India in respect of the valuation set upon man as man and the hopeful and joyful estimate of the worth of life.

133. *Reform and revival of Hindu religions.*—Such changes of view as those which have been touched upon in the last paragraph, changes in respect of the valuation of man's life, amount to an alteration in the view of religion itself. They assign a different function to religion. They demand a religion which can fulfil that function. It is certain that these changes are passing over Hindu religion. Buddhism, which was the greatest of all the reforms of Hinduism, has in India long since been largely reabsorbed into Hinduism. Its adherents are far more numerous, the faith itself is far more vital, in Japan or even in China, than in India. Mohammedanism, the one great religion which had invaded India before the coming of Christianity, is far more accessible to reform than is Mohammedanism anywhere else in the world. Zoroastrianism has never been the religion of any but an interesting group who have always remained complete foreigners in India. The nature-religions, like Jainism, must share the fate of all the nature-religions when these come into conflict with the view of nature which modern education necessarily imparts. There remains the colossal fact of Hinduism. Loyal adherents of Hinduism are saying about it some one and some another of the things which we have heard said about Christianity at various times in our own lands. It is quite touching to hear in the impassioned address of Hindu religious reformers or to read in the eloquent literature of the reforming movements that Hinduism has been verily guilty in that, absorbed in its doctrines about God, it has neglected duties concerning men. It has abandoned the problem of the world. It has not seen that

God should be worshiped, not in rapt contemplation or by asceticism or in rites and ceremonies, but in loving service to our fellow-men. It is suggestive to hear Hindus of quickened conscience and enthusiasm rail at the tendency so natural to the Indian mind to give itself up to reasoning about the transcendent, to wander off into endless refinements of metaphysics, to turn religion into dogma and faith into pure intellectualism. It is illuminating to hear the assault which enlightened Hindus make upon the power and selfishness of their priests, the degeneration of religion into magic, and the readiness of the supposed representatives of God to turn to their own sordid advantage the superstitions and fears of men. These are the notes of the reforming religious movement as a popular movement, but this is the least characteristically Indian side of it. Far more characteristic is that genuinely intellectual movement so essentially aristocratic in its manner, eclectic in its method, inner and spiritual in its purposes, which has given birth to the Brahma Samaj, the Arya Samaj, and the various doctrinal reinterpretations of Hinduism. It is the attempt to make a synthesis of the best points of many religions. This attempt has absorbed not a little of India's best religious thought in the last two generations. So pre-eminently are these systems of religious thought creations of the mind, so completely are they the religious preoccupations of that part of the world which lives to think, that one never wonders that not one of them has progressed far beyond the circle of the intellectuals. Yet few religious movements have ever been launched by one to whom we are drawn by a more instinctive respect than that which we feel

for Ram Mohan Ray. After a life of quest among all the religions which he knew and as the result of thought and study and conference with friends, he taught that there is only one God, who is the father of the spirits of all men, that in all religious movements men are blindly seeking after this one God. The goal in religion is that all men should agree in spiritual worship and join in the service of their fellow-men. He was the founder of the Brahma Samaj, which dates from 1828. After ninety years it is, however, a fair question whether this samaj, or any or all of the others which have split off from it, are in the way of becoming centers of the religious life and power which reformed and reforming Indian religion needs. Certainly, however, such movements show the openness of the Indian mind to the impression of much that has been contended for by the teachers of Christianity.

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CHAPTER VIII

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134. *Japan.*—If we speak next of the spread of Christianity in Japan it is because this movement presents in its history striking contrasts with that which we have observed in the case of India. A warlike population, comparatively small until recent years, homogeneous in race and language, has from time immemorial resisted foreign conquest. Its people chose freely such elements as they found useful in the Chinese civilization yet followed the line of their own development. They have illustrated almost to our own day the advantage of a leadership inherited from a feudal age. Eager for trade at the time of the opening of the Eastern World to European commerce they later turned against the strangers and sought to keep their commerce in their own hands. Hospitable toward faiths other than their native Shinto they yielded great influence to Confucianism in at least two periods of their history. They accorded to Buddhism a place in which this missionary religion achieved a high development. They admitted Christianity with the Jesuits and then, affronted by the association of its representatives with political purposes, they put the European religion under the ban. They visited Christians, both foreign and native, with bitter persecution and prevented all further propaganda until 1865. Yet in the brief interval since Perry's treaty in 1854 Japan has in the largest way adopted fundamental principles of Western civilization. It has become a

military and naval power of the first order, a commercial and industrial nation of the foremost rank. It maintains Western education at the highest level. Since the Edict of Toleration in 1872 Japan has gone farther in the direction of the naturalization and the nationalization of Christianity within limited groups from all classes of society than has any other nation in which the Christian propaganda has been conducted.

135. *Portuguese trade; Roman missions; Xavier.*— In the widest sweep of the Golden Horde toward the East the Tatars failed to effect a landing upon Japanese shores. This was in the time of Kublai Khan, when the Tatars had stamped their impress upon China, India, the present Ottoman Empire, and even Russia, which is not altogether effaced to this day. To Europeans, Japan had existed in a kind of legend since the time of Marco Polo. A junk carrying three Portuguese sailing out of Macao for Siam was blown from her course and made the island of Tanegashima on the coast of the province of Satsuma in 1542. The news thus brought to Goa inspired the Portuguese to follow up the new opening for commerce. Francis Xavier was persuaded to go to Japan. He is said to have yielded to the urgency of a Japanese refugee whose name appears in Xavier's letters as Angiro. This Japanese refugee spoke Portuguese and afterward received the name of Paul of the Holy Faith. Xavier went in a Chinese junk from Malacca and landed at Kagoshima. Kindly received by the local daimio he prepared, with the aid of Paul, an account of the principal Christian doctrines. Later he went with two Jesuit brothers to Hirado and Kyoto. In 1551 he returned to India, having been in Japan a little more than

two years. In Goa he selected missionaries to be sent to Japan. He himself had set his heart upon visiting China. He reached only the island of Changchuen, which appears in Portuguese documents as San Chian and St. John. There Xavier died of fever in November, 1552, in the forty-sixth year of his age.

136. *Nobunaga and the Jesuits.*—For a time Funai and Yamaguchi remained the centers of Christian work. The governor of the latter place received baptism. Torres and Fernandez, companions of Xavier, had remained behind. Gago and Alcaceva came from India to reinforce the station. The opposition of the Buddhist monks, who were often warriors, was natural. The position of converts was made difficult by their absolute allegiance to their overlords. The country was in almost constant civil war. The great political enemy of the Buddhist party, Nobunaga, took the side of the Christians. He was far from being a Christian convert, yet he seems to have acted in a spirit of tolerance as well as from what he took to be political expediency. In the period of his successes Christianity flourished in an amazing degree. The Christian cause was drawn almost from the first into the vortex of the civil struggle through which Japan at the time of the decadence of the power of the mikado and the rise of that of the shogun was passing. There was nothing in the Jesuit theory or practice then rapidly developing in Europe to make its representatives in the East wary of entering upon such alliances. The society sought persons of high station. The end of the matter was that the Christian cause in Japan, which would in any case have been suspect in the eyes of a people of intense anti-foreign feeling, met also

the obloquy of having taken sides in Japanese domestic questions. That the movement should have had for seventy-five years the success which it did have is even more remarkable than the fact that at the end of that period it was suppressed as ruthlessly as it was.

137. *The flourishing period of the Roman missions.*— This is not to say that there was not true religious work of a high order done in the Roman missions in the time of which we speak. There were converts to Christianity who were such out of inner conviction and in face of great difficulties. There was no such obstacle to the advance of Christianity as was offered by caste in India. There was, however, the resistance of a highly organized feudal society in which loyalty was of supreme importance. Shinto was intrenched as the background of popular superstitions relating to nature and also as connected with the veneration of ancestors and in the last analysis with homage to the ruler. Buddhism had long been associated with the aristocracy and Confucianism was at least the prevailing philosophy. Yet Christianity had access to all classes of society and won its leaders from all classes. In such circumstances it would be strange if we did not hear of cases of mass conversion and also of enforced conversions. It is in such a connection that we first learn of Sumitada and the Nagasaki Christian community, famous in later history. Sumitada, announcing that he had been aided to his victories by the Christian God, banished all non-Christians from Nagasaki. Nobunaga was succeeded in 1582 by his lieutenant, Hideyoshi, who brought sixty-six provinces of the empire under his sway. Great was the question whether Hideyoshi would favor the Chris-

tians. At the first he followed in Nobunaga's steps. In 1587, however, he turned against the Christians, issuing an edict which ordered all foreign priests to quit Japan within twenty days. Some Jesuits left Japan, but Franciscans and Dominicans came from Manila to take their place. The Spaniards were sharp rivals of the Portuguese for Japanese trade. The feuds of the priests and merchants among themselves still further angered Hideyoshi. Twenty-six Christians were crucified at Nagasaki, six Spanish Franciscans being of the number, besides three Japanese Jesuits and seventeen Japanese Christians of the laity.

138. *The persecution.*—In 1598 Hideyoshi died and his authority passed into the hands of Iyeyasu, the first Tokugawa shogun. Thirty years later, in 1637, the Tokugawa potentates had apparently exterminated Christianity in Japan and had committed their country to a policy of isolation which continued unbroken until 1853, or for a period of two hundred and sixteen years. Yet in the early years no one would have predicted this issue. Iyeyasu favored the coming of the Dutch and English traders, meaning probably to play them off against the Portuguese and Spanish. An Englishman, William Adams, came to Funai as the pilot of a Dutch ship and was warmly received by the Shogun. He became master-shipbuilder to the government and diplomatic agent with traders of all nationalities. He was for twenty years the Shogun's trusted friend. The Shogun's suspicions were aroused by a Spanish attempt to survey the coast. When five native converts were burned at the stake at Nagasaki for refusing to recant, the crowd gathered up portions of their bones as holy

relics. An edict of 1614 ordered that all missionaries should be deported, all churches should be burned, and all converts should abjure on pain of death. The edict was not rigidly enforced. In 1623, however, under Iyemitsu there were new edicts and consistent persecution began. Highest fortitude was shown on the part of individuals and by masses of the Japanese Christians. In 1637 there broke out a rebellion, commonly known as the Christian Revolt of Shimbara. Shimbara is a promontory near Nagasaki. In 1638 the whole Christian body of the neighborhood, some say twenty thousand fighting men with seventeen thousand women and children, took possession of the dilapidated fortress of Hara. Here the insurgents successfully maintained themselves for three months. Then those whom fire and famine had left were put to the sword. After 1872, under the Edict of Toleration, when French priests were allowed to search the region about Nagasaki for those with whom the old tradition survived, they are said to have found more than eight thousand persons who were prepared to call themselves Christians. Yet Christianity had been a religion forbidden upon pain of death for more than two hundred and fifty years.

139. *The closing of Japan.*—The Japanese felt that the Portuguese had instigated the Shimbara rebellion. An edict was issued proclaiming that thenceforth any Portuguese ship coming to Japan would be burned, together with her cargo, and her crew would be executed. The Colony at Macao in 1640 sent four aged men, most respected citizens, as duly appointed ambassadors and bearing rich gifts to see if the decree could not be altered. The ambassadors and fifty-seven of their following were

beheaded, thirteen being reserved to be sent back to Macao to tell the tale. The Dutch were ordered from Hirado to Nagasaki. There they were confined to Deshima, an island but two hundred yards in length and eighty in width. Their rent was exorbitant, the presents demanded of them excessive. When even on these conditions they had built up a profitable trade in metals they were, after 1790, limited to one ship a year at Deshima. No other foreign ships were allowed to trade with Japan at all. The first sign of predilection for an alien creed exposed the Japanese to severest punishment. Attempt to leave the limits of the realm was punishable with decapitation. Foreign sailors wrecked upon the shores might be put to death. The opening of Japan was postponed until almost the middle of the nineteenth century. By that time the whaling industry in Russian waters off the coast of Alaska had attracted large investments of American capital and was yearly pursued by thousands of American sailors. Shipwrecked mariners had generally been treated with tolerable consideration, but some had had bad experiences. In 1846 the United States government made formal application for the privilege of trading and was refused. In 1849 an American ship, the "Preble," under Commander Glynn, anchored in Nagasaki harbor and threatened to bombard the town unless immediate delivery were made of eighteen seamen who, having been wrecked in northern waters, were held by the Japanese preparatory to their being shipped to the Dutch colony at Batavia. In 1853 Commodore Perry, with a squadron of four ships of war and five hundred and sixty men, entered Uraga Bay.

140. *The opening of Japan.*—With the secular movement as inaugurated by the coming of Commodore Perry and the signing of the treaty which he secured we may deal briefly. The *de facto* rule of the chief noble of the land, which had so long relegated the emperor to a position in which much was made of his divine honor and nothing was expected of him in the way of practical influence, was coming to an end by its own inner decay. A new issue would reveal the evil of a divided rule. Such an issue now arose on the question of foreign trade. The example of Great Britain in China since the opium wars showed trade to be only the entering wedge for other influences. It is possible that Perry's way was made easier for him because of the fear that if Japan did not yield to the United States she might have to yield to Great Britain. Conjuring up the fear of Great Britain France had sought to persuade Japan to throw herself into the hands of France. Perry did not unduly press for a treaty, but after lying at anchor for ten days sailed away, saying that he would return the following year. The Shogun, whose ancestors had been absolutely autocratic, now summoned the feudatories for counsel. It was patent to all that the country was unable to withstand foreign pressure. There was a considerable party which really wished to permit foreign trade. The sight of Perry's steamships with powerful guns, which brought also specimens of Western wonders of invention, sewing machines and model railways, had had effect. In reality the die had been already cast. The treaty granted pledged Japan to accord proper treatment to shipwrecked sailors, to permit foreign vessels to obtain stores and provisions, and to allow American ships to anchor at

Shimoda and Hakodate. Russia, Holland, and England speedily secured for themselves like privileges. The treaty had been signed without the consent of the government at Kyoto. Thenceforth the administrative court at Yeddo, now Tokyo, and the imperial court at Kyoto were in open opposition the one to the other. Humbled by his adversaries and held responsible by foreigners for things which he could not prevent the old Shogun died in 1866. The new Shogun placed himself at the head of the advanced liberal party inaugurating plans for the training of the army through the aid of France and of the navy through that of England. He altered the customs of the court so as to bring them into conformity with the usages of foreign diplomacy. Then he freely resigned his power into the hands of the Emperor.

141. *Relation to other nations.*—From 1866 onward the new spirit rapidly permeated the whole nation. The Mikado took the line which his followers had once blamed the Shogun for taking. Progress became the aim of all classes. The country entered upon a course which in forty years won for Japan a universally conceded place in the ranks of the great world-powers. From the time of the Mikado's resumption of authority relations of Japan with foreign states grew with each year more amicable. Treaties were observed with exemplary care. One feature of the treaties became exceedingly irksome to the Japanese. This was the privilege of extra-territoriality, the fact that foreigners residing within her borders were exempt from the operation of her laws. The system had been a tradition of the European powers in dealing with the nations of the East. That it

had been necessary in some cases there can be no doubt. The Japanese had at first interposed no objection. Yet there were often abuses and causes of irritation under the system of consular courts. When the Japanese had done everything to fit themselves to exercise this one of the attributes of a sovereign state in full accord with the law of nations they were incensed because the European powers were dilatory about revising their treaties to this effect. They asked for a revision of treaties in 1871 and again in 1883. It was in 1899 that the last vestiges of the old system disappeared.

142. *Resumption of Roman missions.*—When under the treaties it became possible for foreigners to reside in Japan, missionaries, both Roman and Protestant, lost no time in availing themselves of the privilege. Roman Catholics came to discover and to aid their brethren who had been so long under the ban of their own government and cut off from any contact with the church to which they acknowledged allegiance. It is certain that for many years after the edicts Roman priests had refused to leave Japan. Others arrived from Europe, dedicating themselves even in the face of probable martyrdom to the serving of the persecuted Japanese church. The Japanese martyrs who had been crucified in 1597 were by a brief of Pope Urban VIII in 1627 permitted to be honored in the celebration of the mass. The canonization of which this beatification was the prelude did not take place until 1862, under the pontificate of Pius IX, after the restoration of the Roman work in Japan had begun. At Urikami and other places near Nagasaki there were found some thousands of people who possessed prayer and service books with sacramental words of

Latin origin. Until the Act of Toleration in 1872 these people and the converts whom the missionaries now made were often persecuted. Since 1872 the mission of the Roman Catholic church has been prosecuted with great success, chiefly by French priests.

143. *Beginnings of Protestant missions.*—It was not unnatural that since the gates of Japan had been opened to the world by America the first Protestant missionaries to enter the country should be Americans. It was natural too that one of the first of the American churches to be represented should be the Reformed Dutch church. This church, interested no doubt in the history of Dutch commerce in Japan, promptly availed itself of the opening of the country to send out Guido Verbeck, who landed at Nagasaki in 1859. Verbeck, although the emissary of the American church of the descendants of the Hollanders, had been born in Utrecht. The first impression of Protestantism in Japan, long before Perry's treaty, had been made by devout Dutch merchants at Deshima. There is a romantic story of Verbeck's early years at Nagasaki which nevertheless appears to be true. He made the acquaintance of a Japanese officer, Wakasa, who while in command of the forces there in 1854 had picked up an English copy of the New Testament floating in the harbor. He had learned English, became interested in the life and teaching of Jesus, and in 1866 was baptized by Verbeck. Verbeck, who was a man of eminent attainments, was at first allowed to reside in Japan only as a teacher. He taught a number of young men of the samurai, some of whom attained distinction in the new government after the revolution of 1868. At the suggestion of these

Verbeck was called to Tokyo to give counsel to the government in framing the new educational policy of the realm. For nine years he remained in Tokyo, supervising the national system of education then established. He recommended that Japanese youth should be sent to the universities and higher technical schools of Europe and America to prosecute their studies. He accompanied the first deputation of Japanese officials on a journey of inspection in various countries of Europe. He bore a conspicuous part in the translation of the Old Testament. He died in 1898.

In the same year with Verbeck there came to Japan two other missionaries who achieved high distinction in the land of their adoption and had great influence over their respective churches in America in arousing interest in things Japanese. James Hepburn was a graduate of Princeton College and of the medical school of Pennsylvania University. He was sent out by the Presbyterian church in the United States and went first to Singapore. In 1859 he was sent by his Board to Japan to open medical mission work in that land. He made himself a place not only in medicine but also in literary work. He had an extraordinary knowledge of the language. Few missionaries ever gained in higher degree the esteem of all classes of people. On his ninetieth birthday, in 1905, long after his retirement, the Emperor conferred upon him the order of the Rising Sun. The third in this group was Channing Moore Williams, a Virginian. He was the founder of the mission of the Protestant Episcopal church in the United States to Japan. In 1866 he was made bishop of China and Japan. Only in 1874 was another bishop appointed for China while

Williams continued in Japan. He remained until 1908. He was a graduate of Virginia Theological Seminary at Alexandria of which Phillips Brooks was also an alumnus, and had much to do with Brooks's interest in missions. In those early years the situation in Japan was such that it drew like a magnet rare spirits from every country in the world, but especially from America, and into every phase of useful work. It was recognized from the first that it would be useless to send any but the ablest men. It is doubtful if missions sent to any lands ever contained a larger proportion of able men than did the Japan missions in those early years. Greene and Davis, who came to Japan when they could exercise the function only of teachers, and Gordon, who added himself to their company as a physician, all became preachers of note. They constituted a trio whom the American Board will not easily forget. Greene developed into a public character of rare tact and responsibility. He would have graced a diplomatic service. He lived through the period when everything foreign was acceptable and again through the reaction in which everything foreign was suspected and odious. He was the trusted friend and adviser of Japanese officials and the intermediary in many delicate and difficult relations. Davis, who had been a soldier in the American Civil War, remained a leader to the end. De Forest and Cary have worthily carried on this tradition.

144. *Neesima.*—In some ways, however, by far the most influential Christian in Japan in those early years was a Japanese, Joseph Hardy Neesima, if we may use that form of writing a name now grown familiar to the world. He was born in Yeddo in 1843 of samurai

descent. His father was a retainer of the daimio of Omaka. When he was sixteen years old that which he had heard concerning America inspired him with eager desire to visit that country. The attempt to leave his country was still punishable with death. Nevertheless, in the year 1859 he managed to escape to Shanghai. There the captain of a ship bound for Boston consented to let him work his passage thither. He sold one of the two swords which he was entitled to wear that he might buy an English Bible. In Boston the owner of the ship, Mr. Alpheus Hardy, took him into his house as a servant. Discovering Neesima's worth he sent him successively to Phillips Academy, Amherst College, and Andover Seminary. Before Neesima had completed his theological studies a Japanese embassy headed by Prince Iwa-Kura arrived in America. They requested Neesima to serve as their interpreter and assist them in their investigation of educational institutions in America and Europe. When his labors were ended, having been ordained in the Congregational ministry, Neesima went before the annual meeting of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in 1874 to plead for the establishment of a Christian school of highest grade in his country. On reaching Japan he found the mission of the American Board earnestly in favor of establishing such a college. Their first impulse was to locate it in Tokyo, side by side with the new imperial university, where the influence of many even of the European and American teachers was distinctly anti-Christian. In the end the college, called Doshisha, was established at Kyoto in the center of powerful Buddhist influences. The opposition of the priests was hardly greater than

the difficulties interposed by government. It was easy to acquit Protestantism of political intentions, yet the old suspicion was strong. Japanese who had been in Europe and America knew that much even of the Protestantism of the decade of the seventies was hostile to the great scientific movement. The scientific movement was hostile to Christianity. In the end Neesima's faith and courage triumphed over every obstacle. The school, which has now grown into one of the universities recognized by the state, was opened in Neesima's own house in November, 1875, with eight pupils. These words may suffice to indicate his place in the history of learning in his country and in the movement for the naturalization and nationalization of everything Christian. No man had greater part in it than Neesima, and this in spite of his profound sense of obligation to missions and America. He died in 1890, in his forty-eighth year.

145. *Japan in the new era.*—The foregoing paragraphs serve to bring into strong relief certain characteristics of the Christian movement in Japan. Missionaries had been from the beginning not mere evangelists and promulgators of a new view of religion. Here they had been the advocates of a Christian influence in the transformation of all relations of Japanese life. That transformation was taking place with rapidity in any case. Missionaries were accorded a place in it only as they were competent to fill that place. So strong was the impulse of the Japanese, so zealous their participation in all other phases of the new movement, that Japanese like Neesima possessed themselves of a leadership in the Christian movement almost as soon as there was a

Christian movement to lead. Christianity in Japan never passed, save for the briefest interval, through the stage in which it was a mere propaganda in the hands of strangers. These facts go far to explain the favor with which the Christian movement was at first received and the rapidity of the progress which for a time it made. Then came a natural revulsion, a swing of the pendulum, a resurgence of national instinct which checked the appropriation of many other elements of Western life in Japan at the same time. In the end the check was an excellent thing. It stripped the Christian movement of extraneous elements of its popularity. Before we go on with this history, however, we must speak briefly of certain elements in the amazing transformation which Japan underwent in the early years of the Meiji era. It has been said that the restoration and all that followed it was carried out by the representatives of a class which numbered hardly a fortieth of the population. The feudal element renounced its own privileges in an enthusiasm for Japan which led them to high self-abnegation. The development of democratic parties and ideals followed when the movement was well upon its way. Even as late as 1875 the idea of representative government had not gone beyond the periodical convening of an assembly of prefectural governors for the exchange of ideas and the encouragement of progress. In 1876 came the establishment of provincial assemblies. Prolonged and thorough study of constitutional government was meantime being made in every country. The experience of the human race was put under contribution. The Marquis Ito directed the framing of the constitution, which was promulgated in the year 1890. To it the

Japanese peoples proudly point as the only charter of the kind voluntarily given by a sovereign to his subjects. There may be a measure of romance in this view. There is also a good degree of truth.

146. *Action and reaction.*—The era from 1868 to 1890 was one which in respect of the general development of Japan was viewed by the sincere friends of the country with deep concern. The master-minds who had planned the restoration continued to lead in the path of progress. Many of these men had enjoyed exceptional opportunities of acquiring knowledge by sojourn in Europe and America. The reformers seemed at times to outstrip the nation's readiness. Yet in the end the most striking trait of the people proved to be their power, not without moments of confusion, to appropriate that which was for them available and to reject the rest. Englishmen were employed to superintend the building of railways, the introduction of the telegraph, the coast survey, and the organization of the navy. To Frenchmen was n-trusted largely the work of recasting the laws, establishing the courts, and training the army. Educational affairs, the postal service, and the improvement of agriculture were put in the hands of Americans. The teaching of medicine, the compilation of a commercial code, and ultimately the training of military officers was assigned to Germans. Italians were called as counselors in matters of art. Yet in almost all these matters there was a strict limitation of time for which foreign appointees would be permitted to serve. At the very moment when so much of the nation's life was put under the tutelage of foreigners chosen youths were sent abroad to fit themselves to take the place of these

foreigners. The movement was one in which the attitude of mind of the people of India, for example, presents only a feeble parallel, although India has been so much longer in contact with things Western than has Japan. It was one which was characterized by a leadership for which China, for example, affords no parallel, having no feudal tradition and being so portentously democratic from beforehand. Yet the fact that Japan has actually blazed the way and accomplished that which the other nations crave may in some measure offset the disadvantages of other nations of which we speak.

147. *The Christian movement.*—It is against this background of the transformation of Japanese civilization that we have to think of the advance of the Christian movement in Japan. Allusion was made to the fact that so soon as the treaties permitted foreigners to reside in Japan language teachers were welcomed. Lessons in English were often exchanged by the newcomers for lessons in Japanese. There was no concealment of the Christian influence of many of these teachers. In general no objection was raised to it. The first school which seems to have been entitled to the name of a missionary school was begun in Tokyo in 1869 by Mr. Carrothers, of the American Presbyterian Mission. Out of this presently grew a girls' school as well. The American Board opened such schools in Kobe and Osaka in 1872. The Kobe College for women is the direct outgrowth of that endeavor. Efforts in the direction of the education of women were as yet exclusively in the hands of missionaries. There was thus established a relation of mission work to education which became one of the traditions. There was an interesting endeavor

at Sendai in 1886 under Dr. DeForest to found a school and college distinctively Christian but supported by a rich Japanese, long resident in America, and governed by the public officials of Sendai, who were, of course, non-Christians. It was closed only in 1891 under the policy of the Department of Education which was then opposed to all private schools of that grade. Of the Doshisha and its difficulties in the time of the reaction we shall speak later. In 1872 a joint committee of the missions had been appointed to translate the Bible into Japanese. They finished their work in 1880. One of those who carried this work to its completion was Brown of the Reformed Church who so early as 1866 had made his own translation. In was only in 1873 that permission was given to hold public services for Christian worship and preaching. Even then the opportunity was for a long time confined to the cities and towns on the coast. For travel in the interior passports had to be obtained. To missionaries they were generally refused. The first Japanese Christian church was established at Yokohama in 1872. It grew out of the union church which had been maintained for some years by the English-speaking residents of the place. The second church, that in Tokyo, was established in 1873 by the American Presbyterian Mission. Churches in Kobe and Osaka followed in 1874. These all possessed no denominational affiliation. By 1875 there were fifty places in and about these cities where stated worship was held. When later many of these churches wished to join in some sort of federation they chose the name Kumi-ai. They would gladly have continued to be designated simply as Christian churches. The name

chosen does, indeed, suggest their self-government. To have called themselves Congregational churches would, however, have implied that they were affiliated with an American denomination. This was not the case, although most of them had arisen out of the work of the American Board. Popular favor at this time was such that great mass meetings were held in the cities in the interest of the Christian propaganda. In 1884 there was a revival among the students at the Doshisha quite on the lines of student revivals in some of the American colleges in the same period. The membership of the Kumi-ai churches increased at this time 50 and 60 per cent a year.

148. *Attitude of government.*—In 1873 the government had ordered the removal of the edict boards prohibiting Christian rites or confession. In 1871, on the occasion of the visit of the Prince Iwa-Kura to Europe, strong representations had been made against the persecution of Christians. The Japanese government had, moreover, upon its hands other questions of religious toleration than those which pertained to Christians. In the restoration of imperial authority in 1868 there had been a revival of something like actual worship of the emperor. Shintoist and Confucian samurai, both prominent agents in the political transformation, had tried to effect the establishment of national religion. Privileges long granted to Buddhists were revoked. The purification of the national religion, Shinto, was to be carried out with rigor after twelve hundred years of partial fusion with Buddhism. After 1872 the two faiths were put again upon equal footing. Shintoists were ordered to organize their worshiping bodies apart from the court ritual. The question concerning Christians must have

seemed to Japanese statesmen a small affair compared with the domestic question with which they were then struggling. The necessity of recognizing Buddhism paved the way for the recognition of Christianity. The constitution promulgated on February 11, 1889, guaranteed full religious liberty to all the people in Japan. On that very day Mr. Mori, the urgent advocate of such liberty, was assassinated by a Shinto fanatic. Mr. Mori, it was alleged, had raised, with his walking-stick, the curtain of the shrine at Ise. Such being the situation one learns with greater surprise that in March, 1876, the government issued a decree that from the beginning of the next month Sunday should be the official day of rest. The old way of reckoning by lunar months had been abandoned in 1873 and the months and days were brought into correspondence with those of the foreign calendar. The years were reckoned, not from the birth of Christ, but from the date assigned for the accession to the throne of Jimmu Tenno, 660 B.C. There had been, however, constant trouble about holidays. This act of the government had no religious significance. The results of it were, however, advantageous to the Christian cause.

149. *Medical work.*—In 1872 Dr. Berry, having joined the American Board Mission, was invited by foreign residents in Kyoto to settle there. Passports for foreigners in Kyoto had been issued only the year before. The foreign residents needed a physician. Dr. Berry thought it an opportunity of opening work as a missionary physician in behalf of Japanese as well. There were foreign physicians in the concessions. There were few missionary physicians as yet. Dr. Berry soon found a more favorable field in Kobe and Osaka.

Already in 1874 the self-support of the medical work in Kobe was assured. Wealthier patients were more than willing to pay fees which covered a large part of the charitable work among the poor. In almost every country medical work has been the first to achieve self-support. The Japanese were sensitive about foreign support of any work done on their behalf. From the first, Japanese youths, Christians in due proportion with others, studied medicine. They studied in Japan and in Europe and America. Philanthropic enterprise established hospitals and dispensaries. Faculties of medicine and of all the sciences subordinate to medicine were among the most flourishing in the national universities. National and municipal care of the sick and wounded became a matter of pride. After 1895 there were schools for nurses. The years when European medicine was practiced only by foreigners in Japan were exceedingly few. The number of missionary physicians sent to Japan was not at any time great. It never held comparison with the number of such physicians in China or even in India. There are general missionary hospitals in Osaka and Tokyo. There are Christian institutions for the treatment of tuberculosis and of leprosy. There is ample opportunity for the Japanese churches to assist in this work, particularly among the poor. Two of the leper hospitals are under the care of the Roman Catholic church. The best-known under Protestant auspices is perhaps that associated with the name of Miss Riddell at Kumamoto. There is no medical school in Japan under missionary or other foreign auspices.

150. *General philanthropy.*—In 1875 Dr. Berry had obtained permission through the American minister

to visit prisons in different parts of Japan. The results of his inspection were embodied in a report submitted to the government. The government printed the report and distributed it among prison officials. The governor of Kobe appointed a member of the Japanese Christian church in that city as a teacher in the prison to give instruction in reading, arithmetic, and morals. He ultimately became superintendent of the prison. The great reforms in the Japanese prison system, with the study of Western scientific method of dealing with penal questions, date from this small beginning. The treatment of prisoners in Japan had never been so irresponsible as in China, but it certainly had been hard. The Okayama Orphanage originated in the love and devotion of Ishii Juji. Ishii had been a medical student at Okayama. He had become a Roman Catholic and later joined the Kumi-ai church. In 1886 George Müller visited Japan. Ishii was much moved by what Müller told of his orphanages in London and the method adopted for their support. He rented an old Buddhist temple and gathered the first little group of abandoned children. Friends gathered about him, for he had no means of his own. Beyond question his work furnished the incentive for the founding of orphanages in many other parts of Japan. The wars of 1894 and of 1904 gave opportunity for the Christian communities to show their devotion to their country, a devotion which could never reasonably have been impugned, and as well to develop to the full their resources of money and of men in the performance of every humane and philanthropic task. The Russian war especially gave to the Young Men's Christian Association, as well in its widespread Japanese constituency

as in the number of American and British youth who served in the camps and at the front, the opportunity of showing their devotion to the good of soldiers and prisoners in respect of their physical and social and moral welfare. The origin of many ameliorating efforts in the life of Japan has thus been with the missions and within the Christian circle. The continued support of them is still with the Christian circle in a measure which is out of all proportion to the percentage which the Christians bear to the Japanese population as a whole or to their relative financial position in the land. The Japan *Year Book* for 1907, published in English but written by Japanese, contains this interesting statement: "It is a significant fact that by far the greater part of private charity work of any large scope is conducted by Christians both natives and aliens." In 1909, after a thorough examination of all charities and philanthropies in the country not under government, gifts were made by the Japanese imperial government to seventy-nine institutions. A large number of these were under Protestant or Roman Catholic auspices.

151. *The reaction: causes.*—In 1889 the Christian movement in Japan had experienced a serious check. Parallel retardation or retrogression was observable in the educational movement, in literature, in arts and industry, and even in certain aspects of social and domestic life. Perhaps retrogression is not the word. What was taking place was the tightening of the grip of the racial and national spirit upon the efforts at progress which were being made. It was as if the Japanese people suddenly had become aware at the end of the decade of the eighties how far the enthusiasm for things

foreign had carried them. The conviction found expression in the popular language of the day that the Japanese people must respect its own genius and preserve its national excellencies. This became the mood of the period. This was the duty which was now talked of, written about, and even embodied in song. It is not to be denied that some of the causes of the arrest of the Christian movement were within the Christian communities themselves. In the days of very rapid growth many persons had joined the churches who were far from being imbued with the Christian spirit. Those who had come in with mixed motives now felt it to be to their advantage to go out again. Deeper natures, not merely self-seekers, experienced another kind of disappointment. They had dreamed that the spiritual truth and pure morality which they had embraced would soon work the complete transformation of their world. They found the transformation even of the Christian body lamentably incomplete. Japanese who had traveled abroad now told, not as so often before merely what wonders they had seen, but also of the misery and vice and crimes in Christendom which they had observed. That was the era in which the presentation of Christianity in the pulpits of Europe and America and the teaching of it in colleges and seminaries had not yet in all cases successfully found adjustment to the progress of science and of historical criticism. That failure of adjustment was often fatal to the religious peace and power of bolder spirits even in Europe and America.

152. *The reaction: effects.*—The centers of education in Japan became to some extent centers of anti-Christian

influence. There was a disposition to urge the claims of the government schools as being more completely under official inspection and better calculated to instil patriotism. It was true, moreover, that the vast sums spent on these schools had given them an equipment with which few of the mission schools could compete and a standard of work which these last might well envy. Not unnaturally the government reserved certain privileges, for example that of curtailment of the term of obligatory military service, for those who were in the government colleges or at least in those which the government would recognize. It could make easy or difficult the entry upon posts in public service and professional careers on the same basis. The churches, which had never been under the domination of the missionaries in a measure comparable with that which had obtained in some other countries, now in the excess of national feeling threatened in some cases to turn away from the missionaries altogether. It became almost a part of the capital of aspirants for leadership in the newly formed organizations to appeal to this national sentiment against the missionaries. It was rather a trying time exactly for those missionaries who had deepest sympathy with the movement for the naturalization of Christianity and the nationalization of the church. The easiest course for them would have been to consider that their work was finished and to leave the Japanese to themselves. Some took this course. Others felt, in the very depth of affection for this movement which they had called into being, that there was still a great service which in tact and patience they might render. There was still a possibility of their standing side by side with their

grown-up children in the faith. The leaders of the Japanese church have themselves in later years gratefully shared this view. Actual integration of the missions in the Japanese church is the course proposed by a recent deputation of the American Board to Japan.

153. *The Imperial Rescript.*—In October, 1890, the Emperor put forth what has since been known as the Imperial Rescript on Education, a document which has had a great influence upon the religious history of Japan. The Rescript was sent to the schools and it became the custom for teachers and pupils to come together on certain national holidays to listen to its formal reading. It is brief and deals not at all with general education but rather with duties personal and domestic and with devotion to the state. It is a solemn injunction relating to questions of moral and social life from the point of view of exalted patriotism. It closes with the words: "The way here set forth is indeed the teaching bequeathed by our imperial ancestors to be observed alike by their descendants and subjects infallible for all ages and true in all places. It is our wish to lay it to heart in all reverence in common with you our subjects that we may all thus attain to the same virtue." The Rescript is clearly a witness to the solicitude felt at that time as to the basis of the moral and social life of the people. It was felt that the reverence once inculcated in the home, the strong bonds of loyalty in every relation which the feudal system had maintained, the homage rendered to the emperor as almost divine, were being jeopardized in the new development of Japan. The new Western ideas with the discrediting of the old which was incidental were injuriously affecting the fundamental

principles of society. The temper of the edict was admirable, its recurrence to tradition in these deepest things in the moral and spiritual life quite natural. The Rescript was seized upon by reactionaries who saw in it a direct blow against the ethics and religion of the West. It was asserted that the West knew little of loyalty and filial piety, an assertion for which it was not difficult to find superficial evidence, particularly upon the latter point. The immemorial allegation, made already under the Roman emperors and repeated in varied circumstances ever since, that Christianity by its emphasis upon conscience loosens the bonds of every earthly authority, was renewed. This allegation also is not without a certain truth, although not quite the truth which was here proclaimed. Difficulties arose in the administration of the mission schools and in the conduct of Christian teachers and pupils in the other schools. Moreover, the loyalty of Christians was sometimes suspected. Obstacles were thrown in the way of their advancement in political life. The parliamentary elections of 1890 were watched with unusual interest. In certain cases it had been impossible for Christians to stand as candidates. Yet thirteen out of three hundred representatives then elected were professing Christians. This was nearly nine times the proportion which the Christians had in the whole population.

154. *The case of the Doshisha.*—All three of the causes which we have named combined to affect powerfully the fortunes of Doshisha, the school, college, and theological seminary which had sprung from the enthusiasm of Joseph Neesima and been fostered with zeal both by the Kyoto mission of the American Board and by the

Kumi-ai churches. The reactionary impulse of the time, which yet covered a real principle of progress, was mirrored in this episode. It may be taken as representative of many things which were happening in Japan at that time. Neesima had established the school in co-operation with the missionaries. The American Board had given money for the erection of the buildings and other expenses. It had acted as the medium through which much larger contributions had been made by American friends. Its missionaries formed an important part of the teaching staff. Foreigners could, however, hold no real estate in the interior of Japan. The property was held by a company composed exclusively of Japanese and this company had charge of all business arising between the school and the Japanese government. So long as Neesima lived and for a time after his death all things went well. Then the causes spoken of and others also began to make themselves felt. Some missionaries and many Japanese felt that the institution was losing its definite Christian character. Yet also there were those who felt that the future of the school lay, if not in the abolition of that character, at least in the alteration of the manner of the manifestation of that character. It was at that time impossible for the trustees to obtain government recognition without the abolition of arrangements which the charter had certainly contemplated. Count Okuma, then prime minister and deeply interested in the Doshisha, offered his aid to the representative of the American Board to bring about an adjustment. In the end the charter and constitution were revised, embodying, indeed, the original intention but adapting the provisions to the new

conditions which had arisen. Missionaries whose salaries the Board pays still teach on the staff. Funds of which the Board in Boston is trustee are appropriated absolutely at the discretion of the trustees in Kyoto. Other subsidies aid the gifts of the Japanese Christians and non-Christian public. The Doshisha had been for more than a decade one of the recognized universities of the empire. Mr. Kataoka, four times speaker of the Lower House of Parliament, a member of the Presbyterian church, became president of the Doshisha in 1902. Dr. Tasuku Harada was elected to that office in 1906. During the first decade of his adminstration the student body increased from 568 to 1,379. In 1913 the professors and teachers numbered forty-four, of whom thirty-two were Japanese and twelve American. There were twenty-six additional lecturers, most of them connected with the University of Kyoto.

155. *Growth of the churches.*—Mention has been made of the Kumi-ai churches, essentially Congregational in their polity. Fully as important is the United Church of Japan, which was formed in 1877. It has grown out of the missions of the Presbyterian and Dutch and German Reformed churches. Of nearly the same membership is the Holy Catholic church of Japan formed in 1887, including all Christians connected with the missions of the Anglican church. There are at present seven dioceses presided over by British or again by American bishops. Later than any of the foregoing groups to be formed and as yet smaller is the Methodist church in Japan, uniting since 1907 the work of all Methodists working in Japan. It has a Japanese bishop, the distinguished Bishop Honda. The total

number of Protestant communicants in these churches, which are to a large extent independent of help received from foreign missionary societies, is about one hundred thousand, or about one in fifty-five of the total population. It is said that at the time of the accession of the late Emperor in 1868 there were but four Japanese Christians connected with Protestant missions. At the time of his death in 1912 there were eighty-three thousand. The rate of increase in these bodies in the decade from 1900 to 1910 has been 92 per cent. The number of adherents of the congregations connected with the Roman missions was, in 1915, seventy-one thousand. Their rate of increase in the decade from 1900 to 1910 had been 10 per cent. They had been retarded in less proportion than the Protestants during the decade 1890 to 1900. They have gained in much less proportion since the change in public sentiment, which set in about the turn of the century. Both facts are to be interpreted in light of the general relation of the Roman church to education, reform, and civil and social progress in the realm. That relation has been intimate from the beginning for the Protestant bodies. They have paid the price of that intimate relation at times in that they suffered all the vicissitudes of changing popular opinion. The Roman church had had at the beginning the unique and touching task of gathering again under its leadership the survivors of the Japanese Christianity which had been nearly exterminated early in the seventeenth century. Under the guidance mainly of French missionaries it has done with admirable spirit the works of mercy. Its educational work has been mainly elementary and mainly for its own communities. Within those

limits this work has been of a high order. The Jesuit College in Tokyo was recognized by the government as a university in 1913. Pope Leo XIII re-established the Roman Catholic hierarchy in Japan in 1891 and constituted the archdiocese of Tokyo with the suffragan sees of Nagasaki, Osaka, and Hakodate, under the immediate care of the Missionary Seminary at Paris.

The Mission of the Holy Orthodox church in its Russian branch to Japan deserves to be considered one of the romantic episodes with which in this history we have to deal. Its story is almost identified with the career of the Archbishop Nicolai who came to Hakodate in 1861. For some years he served as a consular chaplain while studying the Japanese language and awaiting an opportunity to preach the Christian faith. The occasion came in surprising fashion. A samurai named Sawabe, keeper of a Shinto shrine, resolved to kill Nicolai as the preacher of an evil morality and bent on handing over Japan into the power of Russia. He burst into Nicolai's room. The chaplain drew him on to listen to Christian instruction. The two men became friends. In the end Sawabe was baptized. When Nicolai died in 1912 thirty thousand Japanese were adherents of the Russian church. He kindled afresh the zeal for missions in the Russian church and had much to do with the great expansion of mission work in Siberia in his time. In his last years the archbishop gave himself to the establishment of a new method of training youth who are to serve as priests in Japan. Russian boys are brought in early youth to Japan and educated along with the Japanese who look forward to the same career. They share the life of the Japanese students in every particular. It

is hoped thus to minimize the distinction between missionaries and the indigenous church.

156. *Conference of religions in 1912.*—A step which surely marked the beginning of an era in the religious history of Japan was taken in January, 1912, when Mr. Tokoname, vice-minister of education, announced to a meeting of representatives of the press that the government had decided to recognize Christianity as a religion which it was prepared to encourage. Among other things he said: "The culture of national ethics can be perfected by education combined with religion. At present, moral doctrines are inculcated by education alone. It is impossible to inculcate fair and upright ideas in the mind of the nation unless the people are brought into touch with the fundamental conception known as God, Buddha, or Heaven, as taught in religions." He ended by expressing the hope that Christianity "would step out of the narrow circle within which it was confined and endeavor to conform to the national polity and adapt itself to the national sentiments and customs in order to insure greater achievements." One result of this action on the part of the government was that a conference of certain representatives of the three religions, Shinto, Buddhism, and Christianity, was held on February 25, 1912, which was attended also by several members of the cabinet. In the distribution of honors at the coronation of the present Emperor in 1915 a number of Japanese Christians of different vocations were singled out for honor. Surely these facts give some measure of the remarkable change which has taken place in the attitude of the nation toward Christianity since 1868.

CHAPTER IX

CHINA

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CHAPTER IX

CHINA

157. *Earliest Christian influences in China.*—There has been debate as to the possibility of gnostic Christian influence upon northern Buddhism. Certainly the Buddhism of China and Japan, particularly the Amida doctrine widely current in the latter country, differs from that which prevails in Ceylon and Burma and this in a manner rather suggestive of certain fundamental Christian ideas. There is monumental evidence that Nestorian Christian communities were established at Hsianfu in the province of Shensi after 635 A.D. There are references in Chinese documents of about the year 845 which speak of bodies of Chinese Christians using the Syrian rite. After the council of Lyons in 1245, Franciscans, responding to an appeal of Innocent IV for the conversion of the Mongols, attempted to reach China. John of Monte Corvino arrived at Peking in 1294. We hear of a bishop of this Franciscan mission executed near Peking in 1362. A Jew from Kaifengfu told Ricci shortly after the beginning of the seventeenth century that Christianity had disappeared from the northern provinces after bitter persecution not more than sixty years before the time at which he spoke. Francis Xavier never reached the mainland of China, which had long been the goal of his ambition. He died in 1552 off the coast of Kwangtung province. His body was later removed to the Portuguese Cathedral at Goa. He was canonized in 1621 by Gregory XV.

Thirty years after Xavier's death an Italian nobleman, a Jesuit priest, Matteo Ricci, who had been born in the year Xavier died, came to the neighborhood of Canton accompanying an embassy from Macao. Ingratiating himself with the provincial rulers he was allowed to remain. Ricci's methods were long followed by missionaries to China. For seven years he dressed as a Buddhist priest and to the end of his life as one of the Chinese literati. He assured the Chinese that the faith which he preached was the development of the highest principles of Buddhism. He permitted his converts to continue the worship of ancestors. He had knowledge of geography, astronomy and mathematics, which greatly interested the learned men of China. He appears to have attained unusual facility in the writing of Chinese and was the author of books upon various subjects. In 1598 he was able to proceed to Nanking, and in 1601 was summoned to Peking, where he died in 1610. He had stood in close relation with high officials. The name of no European of the seventeenth or eighteenth century was so well known in China as that of Li Ma-tow, the form which Matteo Ricci assumed in Mandarin and which appears in Chinese records. He was succeeded in 1622 by Adam Schall, a German Jesuit. Reports of the success of the Jesuit mission in China reached Europe and aroused the envy of rival orders. Dominicans came in 1631 and the Franciscans re-entered the empire in 1633. Almost immediately the representatives of these orders began to protest against the methods employed by the Jesuits in their work. Both in China and at Rome they assailed the position which the Jesuits had taken with reference to ancestor worship. The

controversy was long and bitter. The hostility of the two groups of Christians, the one to the other, did much to create prejudice against the mission cause. In 1669 there are said to have been three hundred thousand baptized Christians in China, and in 1692 the emperor Kang Hsi, who reigned from 1662 to 1725, and in whose education Schall had had part, legalized the preaching of the Christian faith throughout the empire. The Manchus had overthrown the Ming dynasty in 1644, yet it is clear that the change of rulers had not compromised the position of the Jesuits at the court.

158. *The question of ancestor worship.*—Ricci had contended that the honor paid to progenitors was purely domestic and civil in its nature. It was not worship in the sense that it militated against the acknowledgment of one God. The Dominicans, on the other hand, declared that the ancestral homage was polytheistic and idolatrous. The matter being referred to the pope, Innocent X sustained the Dominican view. The Jesuits dispatched a special agent to Rome and Alexander VII reversed the previous decision. A French bishop in China continuing the agitation, the Jesuits carried the matter before the emperor Kang Hsi. The emperor declared the custom to be domestic and political. The homage to ancestors was merely a mark of filial piety and veneration. As such the rites might be participated in by men of many faiths. Exactly as such, however, they were of primary interest to the state. As connected with the family and clan system, with the patriarchal order, which the enlightened Manchu well knew to be the real government of China, the state must protect them. In 1704 Clement XI recurred to the elder papal

decision that the rites were idolatrous. A papal legate arriving in China ordered all converts to desist from practices interdicted by the pope. Kang Hsi was not the man to take that tamely. He banished the legate to Macao. Missionaries were conducted to the frontier. There was persecution of the Chinese Christians. Missionaries and foreigners were never excluded from China with the thoroughness which was achieved in Japan. Yet Kang Hsi's successor destroyed three hundred churches and left the Christians without the ministrations of their church. Chienlung was an even more consistent opponent of Christianity. In Tongking the persecutions were exceptionally severe and continued with little intermission from 1720 until the time of the French occupation in 1883. Roman missions, generally under the French, underwent a great revival after the opening of certain ports to foreigners which took place in 1842.

159. *Western trade and Manchu conquest.*—There were occasional contacts of China with Europe through traders and travelers after the time of Kublai Khan, the Mongol invader, who reigned at Cambaluc, Peking. They had ceased long before the arrival of the Portuguese in 1517. The Portuguese traders were assigned to the tiny peninsula of Macao in the estuary of the Canton River. After 1628 the little settlement had a governor, appointed by the king of Portugal. It remains in Portuguese possession to this day. The Ming rulers were driven from their throne in 1644 by the Manchu Tatars from Mukden. In the very years in which England was passing through her Civil War, China fell again under the rule of the hated and feared invader

from the north and west against whom the Great Wall had been built two thousand years before. The Manchus never effectively conquered the country south of the Yangtze, which has remained the real China of the Chinese. They were themselves in many ways transformed by the superior culture of the Chinese. The real transformation of China was to take place, not through its conquerors, but through the civilization of those merchants and missionaries who came over that sea upon which neither Manchus nor Chinese had ever really felt themselves at home. In 1689 Kang Hsi saw himself forced to make a treaty with the Russians, the first Chinese treaty with a European power. Warrior that he was and indefatigable in the administration of the state, Kang Hsi devoted much of his time to studies of science and literature, not a little of it under the guidance of the Jesuits. There are statues of Kang Hsi in the garb of a Tibetan monk.

160. *British trade and the opium wars.*—The East India Company had been granted a monopoly of British trade with China. The trade was chiefly in opium, tea, and silk. Canton was the great emporium. The restrictions upon trade were onerous. George III sent an embassy under Lord Macartney to secure concessions. The embassy was a failure. Scarcely less abortive was the effort of Lord Amherst in 1816, although the emperor here concerned, Chia Ching, had inherited none of the qualities of his ancestors save their pride. The event of this reign which was fraught with greatest consequences to China was one which attracted little attention at the time. This was the coming of the first Protestant missionary, Robert Morrison, who reached Canton in

1807. Hitherto Europeans, traders and missionaries alike, had been directly dependent upon the good-will, often upon the mere caprice, of the Chinese. There were no established diplomatic relations. The Chinese regarded the Europeans as barbarians. They had been incensed when Ricci had showed them a map in which the Middle Kingdom was not in the center of the page. The obliging Jesuit drew them a map in which China was the very center. Of the outside world they had little notion. They were supremely complacent in their own civilization, which was indeed in many ways of a high order. In the fourth decade of the nineteenth century when the British began to press for larger trade privileges and treaty recognition there came a bitter struggle. In that struggle China suffered great injustice. It was more than a misfortune that the item of trade which figured most largely in the struggle was opium, grown in British India, transported to China, and introduced through the trade concessions granted to the East India Company at Canton. It is true that the pride and overweening confidence of the Chinese had led to acts of violence in which persons of various vocations had suffered indignity or even death under circumstances which had nothing to do with the opium trade. On the other hand the Chinese authorities had for years made every representation to prevent the introduction of opium into Chinese territory from the foreign concessions. In 1839 the British at Canton, being taken off their guard, were compelled to surrender to the Chinese authorities large quantities of opium, which were destroyed by them. This success led the Chinese imperial commissioner, Lin, to make demands, concerning the

opium traffic primarily but touching practically all trade, which were so serious that the British considered them a cause for war. Not unnaturally, therefore, the struggles which followed have been called the Opium Wars. The naval power of Great Britain was vastly superior to that of China. The contest ended in the ceding of Hongkong to the British, in the payment by the Chinese of large indemnities, and in the opening of thirteen ports to foreign trade. It is only to be wondered at that the embitterment of the Chinese was not greater than it was.

161. *The Tai-ping Rebellion.*—In 1850 there broke out in China a rebellion which continued for fourteen years and ravaged nine provinces. It was called the Tai-ping Rebellion and originated in a just demand for reforms long postponed by the degenerate Manchu rulers. It had at the first as its head a supposed descendant of the old Ming dynasty. The real leader, however, was a Hakka man from the neighborhood of Canton, Hung Siu-chüan, who had at one time come into contact with the Christian mission at Canton. He proclaimed himself as sent of Heaven to drive out the Tatars and deliver the oppressed. He was certainly moved by the apocalyptic language of the Old and New Testament. His inner relation to Christianity has been a matter of dispute. He put forth ideals of virtue and at the first maintained strict discipline in the vast horde of malcontents who flocked to his standard and whom he gradually transformed into a fighting army. The early success of the revolution was amazing. In 1853 Hung was enabled to proclaim himself heavenly king at Nanking, the old southern capital. From Amoy to Tientsin and far into

the west his bands ravaged the country. They lived off the country and fell into the gravest demoralization. Hung himself developed all the traits of a religious and political fanatic. Both he and his followers lost all sense of concrete aim. In the end the Chinese government had to call for foreign aid to put an end to the suffering and devastation. Charles George Gordon, henceforth known as Chinese Gordon, was placed at the disposal of the government by Great Britain. The movement had already largely spent its force, but Gordon won a decisive victory, capturing Nanking in 1864. Hung committed suicide. Gordon was convinced that whatever may have been the merits of Hung's claims at the beginning of his career, the movement had before its end reached such a level of barbarity that right-minded men were under obligation to aid the imperial government to re-establish law and order. On the other hand there is some color for the contention that had Gordon and the British not aided them the Manchus might have been overthrown fifty years before the revolution which finally forced their abdication in 1912. In so far as the Chinese gave credence to the claim of Hung to be a Christian the Tai-ping Rebellion certainly did not improve the public opinion of Christianity. The personal conduct of a man like Gordon stood out, however, in high relief against that of even so distinguished a Chinese statesman as Li Hung-chang, the imperial leader in the war.

162. *The Tientsin Treaty and the Dowager Empress.*— Nothing in the crisis through which the empire was passing had prevented the English from conducting two short wars against the imperial government, in one

of which Canton was captured in 1858 and in the other the allied armies, British and French, advanced to Peking and burned the summer palace. The issue of these wars, the so-called Treaty of Tientsin in 1860, guaranteed the right of foreigners to travel in the interior and secured the freedom of preaching and confession of Christianity. The importing of opium was legalized in the same document. It is difficult to conceive a more preposterous and disastrous conjunction for the Christian cause. Before the end of the Tai-ping Rebellion there appeared as co-regent and guardian, first for her own son and then later for Kwang Hsü, who died in 1908, that remarkable woman, Tzu Hsi, generally known as the Dowager Empress. During all these years she was the real ruler of China. She was a woman of great ability in whom for a moment the traits of the old Manchus were again revealed. It is small wonder if the things which the Chinese had suffered from the British and from the French in their seizure of Tongking in 1884 and from the Germans in their taking of Kiaochau in 1898, led to occasional outbreaks and reprisals. Missionaries were often the victims. More often than any other class of persons they were found far in the interior. Undoubtedly their propaganda touched the Chinese upon a sensitive spot. Many causes combined to bring the hatred of all the influences of Christendom and Christianity to expression in the Boxer uprising of 1900. This event is the turning-point in the modern history of China. Before we speak of it, however, we may seek to describe the Christian propaganda during the century which followed the coming of Robert Morrison to Canton in 1807.

163. *Early Protestant missions; Morrison.*—Morrison was the first Protestant missionary to China. He was a Scotchman but had spent most of his youth in Newcastle. He had been apprenticed to a maker of lasts and studied while at work. He studied theology with his minister, but was for a time at the Independent Theological Academy at Hoxton. He was appointed by the London Missionary Society in 1804. Such was the hostility of the Chinese to the English apropos of the trade in opium that he was obliged to sail in an American vessel from New York. He found the way to the preaching of the gospel barred and set about the translation of the Bible. He rightly felt the power of the appeal to the Chinese through their literary class. He became a translator in the service of the East India Company. In 1810 he began the publication of his New Testament. In 1818 he had finished the translation of the whole Bible. Meantime he had issued a Chinese grammar, the first written by a European. In 1821 his vast work, the Chinese dictionary, was published at the cost of the Company. He had been interested in the beginnings of medical work. He, with Dr. Milne, had founded the Anglo-Chinese College at Malacca which was afterward removed to Hongkong. Seven years after his arrival in Canton he baptized his first convert, one of his language teachers. Morrison died in 1834, having seen, so far as we know, ten Chinese baptized in the Christian faith. His work upon the translation of the Scriptures has been often revised. His dictionary has been largely superseded. The difficulty of the task which was thus essayed for the first time by a European can hardly be overestimated. One of Morrison's staunch helpers was

Karl Gützlaff. Educated at Halle, he came to Batavia under the Netherlands Missionary Society in 1826. After 1828 he was in China as an independent missionary. He was active both in literary and in medical work. He knew Chinese so well that he fulfilled several commissions for the British government disguised as a Chinese man. He believed that the prosecution of mission work in China would never be successful until it was done in large part by the Chinese themselves.

164. *Medical work and public service.*—In the year of Morrison's death Peter Parker was appointed by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions as its first medical missionary. He opened a hospital at Canton for diseases of the eye. He soon found himself obliged to admit patients suffering from other diseases. He educated young Chinese in the practice of medicine and surgery. He was temporarily driven out of Canton at the time of the opium wars and returned as interpreter to the United States legation in China, resigning that post only in 1855. He was plenipotentiary of his country for the revision of treaties in 1844. In recognition of his scientific attainments he was elected a regent of the Smithsonian Institute in Washington in 1868. Parker's day in China was the time of the upbuilding of American trade in China and of the friendship with China, which in some sense has remained unimpaired to this day. The Americans profited by the revulsion against the English because of the opium question. American-Chinese trade was largely a New England trade and China became for the time the greatest of the fields of the American Board. The typical figure in this era was perhaps Elijah Bridgman,

an Amherst College and Andover Seminary man, who lived first at Canton and Hongkong and later at Shanghai. Author, editor, translator, as well as preacher, he was secretary of the Caleb Cushing embassy to China and adviser of the representatives of the four powers in the making of the Treaty of Tientsin. He was perhaps more intimately connected with the life of the foreign communities of Canton and Shanghai than any other missionary. Scarcely less notable for versatility and influence was S. Wells Williams. A graduate of the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, he was sent out by the American Board in 1833. He established a press at Canton and was all his life interested in the production of Christian literature for China and Japan. He knew Japanese and had a share in the translation of the New Testament into that language. He was for many years connected as interpreter with the American legation. He was the author of many books of permanent value. His *Middle Kingdom* is a standard work upon the China which has largely disappeared in the great changes of recent years. In his last days he was professor of Chinese in Yale College and president of the American Bible Society. In this group of pioneers mention should be made also of Bishop Boone, who was sent out by the Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal church in America and consecrated bishop in 1844. Boone College in Wuchang bears his name. The London Missionary Society was represented by several distinguished men during this early period. The best known of them was Dr. Legge, who came to Malacca in 1839 to take charge of the Anglo-Chinese College and continued in its leadership after its removal to Hongkong.

In later life he was professor of Chinese in the University of Oxford and translated considerable portions of the Chinese classics into English. Medhurst, one of the most accomplished linguists who ever served on the missionary staff in China, was at Shanghai until 1856 and did notable work in connection with the translation of the Scriptures. He also was a representative of the London Society, as was Lockhart, the founder of medical work and more particularly of medical instruction at Peking in 1839. When one considers the number of men of mark whose lives were given to the cause of Protestant missions in China in the years from 1807 to 1850, the date of the outbreak of the Tai-ping Rebellion, it seems strange to say that it is doubtful if at the latter date there were a hundred converts to Christianity in China. Almost half a century had passed in the bare laying of foundations. In 1834, when near his death, Morrison had said that he thought that in a century there might be perhaps a thousand Christians in China. When a quarter of a century had passed it looked as if that modest prophecy would hardly be fulfilled.

165. *The China Inland Mission.*—Certainly there was nothing in the history of foreign relations with China in the decade of the fifties to improve the prospects of the Christian movement. The war with the allied powers which began over the affair of a trading ship, "The Arrow," had ended in the burning of the summer palace at Peking and in the Treaty of Tientsin, which represented helpless China's further concessions in the face of overwhelming force. Life in the treaty ports had settled into a routine. If representatives of what was good in Europe and America were present,

representatives of every evil in Western civilization were in evidence as well. The very existence of treaty ports and the conditions of extraterritoriality were exasperating to the Chinese. There was no chance to reach the masses of the Chinese of the interior, as yet unprejudiced by sinister foreign contacts. Now the opportunity was given. Moreover, the ravages of the Tai-ping Rebellion had created conditions of such appalling misery and destitution that missionaries who would give themselves to works of mercy were assured of welcome. There arose in the China Inland Mission a new missionary instrumentality adapted to this situation. The founder, Hudson Taylor, an Englishman, had been in China under the Chinese Evangelization Society since 1853. Like many men destined to be innovators he did not work well in the conventional harness. In 1862 he became an independent missionary and gathered to him such as shared his convictions. The problems of inland China, as yet almost untouched, drew him. Bound by no denominational tenets he appealed for volunteers from many branches of the Christian church. Their doctrinal bond was, however, the staunchest evangelicalism. The workers had no salaries but trusted that under God they should never suffer want. The mission soon became international as well as interdenominational. It employed single women in its work in a proportion never known before, sending them often into the remotest places. The missionaries frequently found it convenient to dress in Chinese clothes and to live more or less after the Chinese manner. In the earlier days they concerned themselves little with educational work, except the most

rudimentary, and not at all with medical work. The wisest of their own number would probably not have contended that all the work which needed to be done for the Chinese could be best done in this way. They filled a place, however, in the opening of China to the gospel which no other mission has filled. They manifested often a Franciscan-like devotion in dealing with the most difficult and disheartening aspects of the Chinese problem. Only those who know the difficulties and trials of life in the heart of China, with the dangers and hardships of long journeys, can appreciate what their missionary touring meant. In many instances these journeys were accomplished by women for the sake of reaching the women of Szechuan and Yunnan. The great strength of the China Inland Mission has been in pioneering. In this respect it has done unrivaled work.

166. *Missions until 1900; educational work.*—In few countries have the pioneer missionaries waited so long for visible results of their labors. This fact is the more significant because the progress of Christianity in China during very recent years seems likely to surpass the gain in any large non-Christian country. Even in 1877 the total number of Protestant converts was reckoned at but thirteen thousand. Protestant missionaries had been seventy years in the country. The Church Missionary Society, which had come to China in 1850, worked in Foochow for ten years without a single convert. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel did not definitely begin work in China until 1874, when Rev. C. P. Scott, afterward Bishop of North China, was sent to Chefoo and later to Peking. In general it may be said that the Church Missionary Society has worked in

Middle and South China and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in North China. The late date of the commencement of work upon the part of either of them in China is noteworthy when one thinks how old and how preponderant were British trade relations in China. The decade of the seventies brought to Shanghai the interesting figure of Bishop Schereschewsky, a Russian Jew, converted in America and sent out by the American Episcopal church. He was a linguist of excellence and the founder of St. John's College at Shanghai in 1877. Great numbers of new missionaries came to China in this period. Hardly a major board in any country was unrepresented. Progress was made in the development of the Chinese churches. Yet as a rule they remained in notable degree churches of the missions, with the missionaries in their leadership. The truth was that the leading classes among the Chinese were not yet widely touched. Leadership in China was everywhere in the hands of the intellectuals. The literati bred in the old classical culture were profoundly conservative. Public office was everywhere held on the basis of examinations in the ancient literature. The official class was therefore bound to the existing system. Foreign learning was feared when it was not despised. Those who sought it were esteemed to have turned against their country and allied themselves with the hated foreigner. In these circumstances it is a matter for wonder that the schools and colleges established by the missions succeeded as well as they did. In this period between 1865 and 1900 were founded almost all the colleges and higher schools, like those at Foochow and Canton and again at Shanghai, Peking, Nanking,

and Hankow. These institutions, in almost every case denominational in their origin, have since 1902 and more particularly since 1913 entered into union movements. The University of Peking originally established by the American Methodists is such a union institution. Canton Christian College has been interdenominational from the beginning. These have put themselves in a position of real leadership now that China has gone over completely to the cultivation of Western learning and while the government institutions are still undeveloped. Into this period go back also many of the hospitals and medical schools which at first encountered great opposition from the side of the popular superstitions. These medical schools and colleges, often with very inadequate means and almost doomed to fall behind in the rapid progress of medicine and surgery in Western lands, yet opened the way. To the men of distinction in educational circles in this period belonged Martin and Sheffield and Richard, and in medical circles Kerr and Christie.

167. *Trade relations; the Imperial Maritime Customs.* —Throughout this period relations with foreign nations were unsatisfactory. The conditions of security left much to be desired. The mind of the nation was hostile and there was much suspicion. When concessions began grudgingly to be granted to European capitalists to build railways and set up telegraph lines and open mines the Chinese were almost always at a disadvantage because of their ignorance of such matters. They were infuriated to find their credulity abused and their country's riches exploited before their eyes all the while that China's millions were so lamentably poor. One of

the best influences in China during this period was the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs, from 1863 to 1907 under the administration of Sir Robert Hart. The Taiping Rebellion had destroyed the old administration of the customs at Shanghai. The substitutes offered were unacceptable to the foreigners. Finally a joint administration was devised which was to be a department under the imperial government but with an international service bearing the responsibility. In 1863 Hart was made the head of the customs. In fact he became the intermediary between China and the outside world in many relations. He was trusted by the Chinese as few foreigners have been. On the other hand he was unofficial adviser of ambassadors. He saw things in extraordinary measure from the Chinese point of view. In the whole period of his service he returned to England for but two short intervals. The customs service set an example of incorruptibility which was sorely needed. Because of its efficiency many tasks not originally contemplated in its establishment were committed to its charge. The postal, telegraph, and telephone service was organized by it and the charting of the coast with the building of lighthouses was under its charge. Hart was one of those besieged in the legation area in 1900. He had firmly believed that no such catastrophe could take place. He lost invaluable records of his life-work because of this confidence. He maintained entire faith in the Chinese even after that crisis. He was throughout his long career a friend of missions and believed in the ultimate success of the Christian movement in China.

168. *Last years of the old régime.*—France took Tongking from China in 1883. Conflict with England was

only narrowly escaped at the time of the Yunnan rebellion. Japan was held to have fomented trouble in Korea and in 1895 inflicted a serious defeat upon the Chinese, who lost Formosa and the Liaotung Peninsula with the incomparable fortress of Port Arthur and the city and harbor of Tai-lien-wan, or Dalny as the Russians called it. To be sure Japan was in turn deprived of a good part of the fruits of her victory by a group of the European powers. Russia finally secured Port Arthur and gave occasion for the Russo-Japanese War. Germany seized Kiaochau, ostensibly as penalty for the murder of two Bavarian Jesuits. England took Weihaiwai to offset the acquisitions of the other two. The Russians had built the Siberian road through Manchuria and acted as if they already owned the province. It looked as if China was on the way to complete dismemberment. The powers underestimated the resentment which these things stirred in all classes of society. There were those in China to whom the driving out of foreigners and the return of China to the old ways became the goal of all desire. There were others who saw more clearly and realized that the only thing which could save China was to enter upon the course which Japan had already taken. She must adopt and adapt such elements of Western civilization as would enable her to resist her foes. Certain men in high station held these views. Especially in the south among the real Chinese there were men who had been in England and America and who were pronounced radicals. In 1898 a strange thing happened. The emperor Kwang Hsü, who had been upon the throne since 1875 but wholly suppressed by the Dowager, apparently decided to

assert himself. He issued edicts of reform covering many weighty matters and anticipating steps which China was to take only after several miserable years. The edicts showed high intelligence and a very modern spirit. There is much mystery about the personality of Kwang Hsü. He was surrounded by enthusiasts for the new era which he was supposed to be inaugurating. Yet he fell a victim to the Dowager and was kept for the rest of his life a prisoner on an island in the garden of the summer palace. His advisers were banished or beheaded, save two, Kang Yu-wei and Sun Yat-sen, who lived to take part in the revolution of 1913. The conservatives seemed more securely intrenched than ever. There were warnings that the popular mind was turning to the thought of the destruction of all foreigners in the country. Diplomatic and business people as a rule disbelieved these rumors. Suddenly, in June, 1900, with almost unexampled fury the storm broke. China had always been full of secret societies. One of these bore a name which signified that its members were ready to use their fists in upholding righteousness. Somebody translated this title by the word "boxer," so the midsummer madness of 1900 has been known as the Boxer uprising. It was the last flaming out of the old passion. It was the turning-point in Chinese history, the unintentional inauguration of the new era.

169. *The Boxer uprising.*—The Boxer society, whatever there may have been of it, was but the smallest part of the constituency which the rising gathered to itself. Whole provinces were found to have been for months quivering in expectancy of some blow to be dealt to the hated civilization which was being thrust upon

an unwilling nation. Shantung, the proud province of Confucius, upon whose shores much of the violence we have spoken of had taken place, Chihli, the province of the capital, where strangers were much in evidence, and Shansi, the abode of a particularly intense conservative sentiment, were the main centers. Yet at moments it seemed as if all of Northern and Eastern China would be involved. The Dowager's government was unquestionably deeply compromised. Missionaries and those who knew the language, the rural districts, and the common people had given warning for months. On June 20 the ambassador of Germany was shot in the streets of Peking on his way to the Foreign Office. The chancellor of the Japanese legation had been killed a day or two before. The offer of the Empress to send all the legations to Tientsin was rejected by them as a trap. By evening of that day the legations of every greater nation in the world were besieged within the legation area and all communication with the outside world cut off. The legation guards were relatively few in number. They had ammunition but almost no material for barricades. They had insufficient food. Foreigners of every nation, traders, travelers, missionaries, had fled to the legations in the last few days before the outbreak. Protestant Christians from among the Chinese arrived also in considerable numbers. There were in all about three thousand persons in the besieged area. They endured siege for fifty-five days. Had the Chinese been united in purpose and had they had the ultimate courage of their undertaking the resistance could hardly have continued forty-eight hours. Meantime, about the Roman Catholic cathedral in Peking similar scenes were

being enacted. Here the heroic French bishop with the priests and nuns and thousands of converts had been trapped. They held out to the end although here the loss of life was very great. Troops of the various allied nations were hurried to the port of Tientsin. An expeditionary force finally marched up the valley of the Pei-ho and relieved Peking. The Dowager and the passive little Emperor fled from one gate of the city as the allies entered at another. The armies occupied Peking until October, 1901. The court remained in security in far Shensi. The rising was finally put down, not so much by foreign troops as by governors and others who began to see the bearing of the episode upon the future of their land. Most prominent of these was Yüan Shi-kai, who had done what he dared to prevent the slaughter in his province. He now became the go-between of the allies and his imperial mistress. In this uprising one hundred and thirty-five Protestant missionaries, men and women, had been killed, and fifty-eight children in their families. Thirty-five Roman Catholic priests and nine sisters fell a sacrifice. The total number of foreigners of all occupations who perished is not accurately known. Surveying and prospecting parties caught in remote places fared as badly as the missionaries. The heaviest blow fell, however, on the Chinese Christians. These were felt to have allied themselves in inner conviction with the hated foreigner. In many places they were offered immunity if they would recant and were tortured when they refused. Not less than sixteen thousand sealed their faith with their blood. The fact is remarkable because the Christian cause was still exotic in large degree in China. It had not achieved

any great measure of naturalization in the empire. It was not surprising that the Chinese, roused to fury against everything foreign, should feel that the Chinese Christians were even worse than the aliens, for they were traitors to their own land.

170. *Restoration and reform.*—The restoration of the Dowager's government was finally agreed upon by the powers as the only solution of an international difficulty which grew greater rather than less as time advanced. That proud and able woman came back to her palace under humiliating conditions. Expiations of exemplary character were demanded. Indemnities of colossal magnitude were exacted. More than half of the American indemnity was later returned with the provision that the income be used for the education of Chinese youth in America. Certain reforms were insisted on. The foreign office was put upon a new basis. Many of the things which the Emperor and his party had decreed in 1898 were, in 1901 and 1902, set in operation by the Empress, who had formerly resisted them. That she had connived at the plot for the expulsion of foreigners was not doubted. Now she set about the transformation of China by the adoption of elements of Western civilization which would enable China ultimately to maintain her national integrity and take her place among modern people as Japan had done. There came an era of building of railways and developing of industries, of the training of an army after Western fashion, and of the laying of great plans for education of all classes in the Western learning which had been but recently despised. The plans were often laid with high intelligence. There was lacking any adequate body of trained men to carry

them out. The strong democratic disposition of the Chinese manifested itself. There was never any such conceded leadership in China as was furnished in Japan at the corresponding moment by the surviving spirit of the feudal system. Reforms have had to be carried through by parties. Yet parties and their responsible management are one of the last achievements of a people familiar with the principles of self-government.

171. *Recovery of missions.*—The recovery of the Christian cause in China after the catastrophe of 1900 was extraordinarily rapid. Not only was the whole religious and philanthropic world stirred to feel that for the moment China was the land of limitless opportunity; not only did those interested in education and medicine now feel that they were sure of privileges which had never been accorded them; not only did right-minded men in Christendom feel that whatever were the errors and crimes of China in 1900, these were in large part provoked by the errors and crimes of Christendom in its dealing with China in the century preceding; the Chinese themselves now set out on their own part to make reparations. They appreciated that missionaries and philanthropists had been long trying to lead them along a path which now they themselves had come to wish to tread. They realized that in treading it they were not necessarily untrue to their own race. Mission schools and colleges were crowded with the sons of Chinese families still loyal to Confucianism, whereas before they had often had but few pupils save those gathered from the homes of converts in the Christian church. The number of communicants in the churches increased in notable degree. In 1907 there was held

in Shanghai an international conference concerning missionary interests in China. It marked the lapse of a hundred years since Morrison came to Canton. It was still essentially a missionaries' conference. Independent development of the indigenous churches and of Chinese leadership has come largely in the ten years which have passed since the Morrison Centenary. Yet some impressive facts became evident. There were in that year 3,445 Anglican and Protestant foreign missionaries in service in China, representing sixty-three boards or societies. There were 9,904 Chinese preachers and teachers. There were 178,251 communicant members connected with churches under these missions. In many missions and for several years the rate of increase in the communicant membership of the churches had been from 20 to 30 per cent per year. When one remembers that the corresponding figure in the United States is a little over 2 per cent he perceives the gain which has been made. The *China Mission Year Book* for 1918 gives 268,652 as the number of Protestant communicant members, and the total Chinese constituency as 526,108. The Roman church had, in 1918, 1,409 foreign priests, 906 Chinese priests, 1,956,205 communicants. There is difficulty in comparison of these figures as between the two great branches of the church because of the difference of the custom of the churches in reference to communicant membership. But it may be safely said that there is one Christian communicant for about one hundred and twenty-five of the Chinese population.

172. *Education.*—The educational situation in these early years of the transformation of China presents marked contrast with that which we observed as to the

beginnings in the case of Japan. The reforms of the eventful years 1902 to 1904 did indeed provide for a system of public instruction of the most extensive sort. There was to be a university in each province with the appropriate secondary schools leading up to it. There were to be technical schools of every sort. Of these China stands in greatest need. Gradually lower schools were to be developed. Compulsory attendance was to be demanded, as in Japan. Foreign professors were to have place in the faculties for a time only. Chinese men were to be fitted as soon as possible to take over these responsibilities. Youth of ability and under careful selection have been in process of education in Europe and America for every kind of public service. In America especially the indemnity scholarships have opened an unusual number of opportunities. Financial and political questions have made difficult the carrying out of the grand scheme. Part of the plan has been in abeyance and the execution of the parts attempted has left much to be desired. The mission schools and colleges and professional schools were old in China before the opening of the new era. In Japan they were never permitted until the national schools had been already established and were being developed with such efficiency that the Christian schools could hardly be their competitors. The Chinese portion of the staff of the government schools was at first taken mainly from youth educated in the mission schools. The mission colleges and universities were thus able to render a unique service in respect of Western learning. They found themselves suddenly viewed with a veneration the more striking when compared with the obloquy which they had long

endured. They will not always hold this precedence when once national affairs permit the proper evolution of the government plans. The best of them make good use of this precedence now. In the Shansi province, one of those which suffered most in the Boxer uprising, a district magistrate asked the missions to take over temporarily the whole educational project. The Oberlin–Shansi group under the American Board has thus a peculiar privilege, for the Shansi missionaries who fell in the rebellion were many of them Oberlin men. In some ways the devastation which the Boxer era brought was a benediction in disguise. In a number of cases the buildings of these schools and colleges were destroyed. They had been established in connection with denominational societies. When they were to be rebuilt it seemed absurd to perpetuate such a number of institutions. By combining they might use their resources to better advantage and aid the growing movement for the elimination of sectarianism in the Chinese Christendom which is to be. In this way union colleges and universities, like those at Peking, Foochow, and Nanking, have come into being. Union theological schools exist. Union preparatory schools, like that at Tungchau, make the colleges a fact and not merely a name.

173. *Modern medicine.*—We have spoken of the beginnings of medical work in China. One who has not visited China can form little idea of the need of such work. The ancient practice was utter quackery and often the most cruel resort to magic and witness to superstition. For a long time foreign practitioners were few. Some boards hardly thought medical work within their purpose. Physicians were viewed by the Chinese

with a suspicion profounder than that which met any other class of foreigners. There was no way of educating Chinese for the practice of the profession save the old-fashioned tutorial system. The translation of standard medical works was difficult because the technical vocabulary did not exist. Material for dissection was impossible to obtain. The hospitals would sometimes hardly have passed muster in the least enlightened and scrupulous of occidental communities. Practitioners were often well aware how fast their science had moved since the day when they were students and how little chance they had had in these far lands to keep the pace. In these circumstances the union of medical colleges like that which has been brought about at Peking and again at Shanghai was a great gain. The taking over of this work by a corporation of unlimited resources, like the China Medical Board of the Rockefeller Foundation, constitutes an inestimable benefit. In both of these directions, medical and educational, something of the direct religious purpose which existed in the old hospitals and colleges may have been sacrificed. At all events the spiritual aid rendered has become a personal affair. This takes place, however, in our own countries. It is a part of the Christianization of life. No one wishes that the worse of two medical schools shall bear the Christian name and the better be ostentatiously without it.

174. *Christian literature.*—No people ever had greater reverence for literature than the Chinese. None ever was more susceptible to influence through the printed page. No land, therefore, is more open to the Christian propaganda and indeed to the dissemination of all good and vital principles by the production of a specific

literature for these ends. The Nestor of this effort on behalf of Christian literature is Timothy Richard, a missionary of the English Baptist Missionary Society long resident in Shanghai. The Shanghai Mission Press under the responsibility of the Presbyterian Mission has for decades poured out books, periodicals, and tracts without number. The Literature Society guided by Richard has gathered to its staff scores of the most distinguished writers, both foreigners and Chinese, versed in the important dialects. The dialects, though not so numerous as in India, are numerous enough. They serve to separate the lower classes of society quite decisively. People of any pretense to education read even if they do not speak one or the other of the literary languages in which the tradition of culture has been transmitted. No aspect of missionary work or contribution to the general enlightenment and morale of the Chinese public will be more important in the future than this endeavor to create a Christian literature.

175. *Recent events.*—In closing, a word should be said concerning the extraordinary political events which have taken place since 1907. These have greatly changed the outlook for the Christian movement. Just as there was in Japan after the opening of the Meiji era an attempt at the restoration of Shinto as the state religion, so in China after the reforms of 1902–4 there was an effort to revive in official form the worship of Confucius. It was declared that this did not militate against the toleration of Christianity and of all other religions which had been exacted among the terms of the restoration of the Dowager to the throne. Nevertheless, for a time a monthly observance of the Confucian rite was

announced as necessary on the part of all who held public office, including especially teachers in the schools. Many refused to comply with the injunction. A few were punished for disobedience. Before long the whole thing fell into desuetude.

No event has served more deeply to impress the world with the progress of the Christian movement in China than did the official request made by the acting Chinese government for the prayers of its Christian subjects on Sunday, April 27, 1913. A few days prior to that date telegrams had been sent to the leaders of the Christian churches asking that special prayers be offered on behalf of the Chinese nation, and to provincial governors and other officials directing them to attend the Christian services. The suggestion apparently originated with the Christians, of whom sixty had been elected members of the first Chinese parliament.

The emperor Kwang Hsü died sometime in November, 1908. On the day after the official announcement of his death the Dowager also died. She had, however, taken part in the choice of a successor to the Emperor, an infant two years of age for whom a regent had been appointed, a favorite of the Dowager. Hardly had the new regent, Prince Chung, assumed office when the veteran statesman Yüan Shi-kai, who held in high measure the confidence of the European world, was dismissed from his post. The regent was soon accused by the Chinese of reactionary tendencies. After five troubled years revolution broke out in the south. The most influential man at the moment was Sun Yat-sen, who, banished in 1898, had long been in England and America. The Manchus were forced to abdicate and a

republic was set up. The man who after a period of disorder succeeded in taking the place of president of the republic was no other than Yüan Shi-kai. There were continued disorders in the south and difficulties with the parliament. Yüan was accused of ambition to restore the monarchy in his own person. In the midst of this new crisis Yüan died and the jeopardized republic seemed once more assured. When one thinks of the vast numbers of the people in China, of the loose bond which has always existed among the provinces, of the ignorance of remote regions concerning national and world affairs, of the insufficiency of the means of communication, of the unsatisfactory state of the finances, of the doctrinaire character of one party, at least, of the supporters of the republic, of the tradition of absolutism at Peking, and of China's relative helplessness as yet in the face of any one of the great nations, we cannot hide from ourselves the difficulties which democratic institutions in that land must meet. Yet the progress made since 1900 is truly amazing. The Chinese character and intelligence is such as to warrant high hope. More than once during the Great War, China has seemed to be imperiled by Japan. Her entrance upon the war on the side of the Entente in August, 1917, seems the natural solution of some of her difficulties. It assures in further measure the assimilation of China among the world-states after the war.

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CHAPTER X

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CHAPTER X

THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND THE MOSLEM WORLD

176. *The Moslem world.*—The Moslem world as a religious magnitude includes the whole of Northern Africa, the area of former Moslem states or provinces now mainly under European rule. It is being rapidly extended by successful missionary propaganda among negroes in Middle Africa, now also under the rule of various states of Christendom. It reaches Persia and makes itself felt in India, Burma, Siam, China, and the Dutch and English East Indies. It includes several populous provinces of Russia. Moslem elements in the Balkan States are not negligible. As a political magnitude, on the other hand, it exists only in the Ottoman Empire, ruled from Constantinople, but covering Syria and Asia Minor, the valley of the Euphrates, and Arabia until the present war. The territory under actual sovereignty of the sultan has steadily diminished during the nineteenth century. The influence which the Commander of the Faithful once exerted over Moslems whom he did not rule has also been seriously impaired. Before the war it was estimated that hardly 20 per cent of the population of the Ottoman Empire was of Turkish blood and not more than 50 per cent of Moslem faith. Out of the supposed two hundred millions of Moslems in the world one hundred and seventy millions were ruled by Christian states. Speaking only of events of very recent years, the French occupation of Morocco, the Italian conquest of Tripoli, the Anglo-Russian agreement

with reference to Persia, the defeat of Turkey by the Balkan States, the dethronement of the khedive, the successful rebellion of Arabia, carrying with it the sacred city of Mecca, constitute a series of catastrophes unparalleled in the history of Islam. The end of Moslem rule in the world may be nearly as swift and spectacular as was its beginning. The most favorable possible issue of the Great War from the point of view of the Turks would still have left the Ottoman Empire in complete subjection to Germany.

177. *Ottoman power; lateness of missionary beginnings.* —For the purposes of this narrative, therefore, the Ottoman Empire is only in some sense a center and symbol of the Moslem world. The Moslem problem must be met mainly under conditions which prevail, for example, in India and Burma and Malaysia, where half of the Moslems of the world reside under the British crown. A hundred years ago when Protestant missions began this was very far from being the case. The Ottoman rule had still something of the aspect which it wore when the armies of the sultan gathered under the walls of Vienna. Constantinople was the center of a might which had once been the terror of Christendom. If Christians had begun to realize that the Crusades of the Middle Ages had assailed that power in a mistaken and fruitless way, none the less did they hope to approach that same spiritual and temporal might in a new and better way. It may be of interest to add that the Ottoman Empire is the one great region included in this study which Roman Catholic missions entered, not three hundred years before the Protestants, as in the case of India, China, or Japan, but at the same time with the Protestants. There was

little opening for trade in the Levant in the time of the Renaissance like that which sent the Portuguese to the Far East or the Spanish to America. When the diplomacy of Europe opened the Near East after the Napoleonic wars the opportunity was embraced by both Protestants and Roman Catholics alike.

178. *Ancient Christian churches; Syrians and Armenians.*—It happens that the portion of the earth covered now or until very recently by the Ottoman Empire was, the larger part of it until the fall of the Roman Empire and a smaller part until the fall of the Byzantine Empire, the very area which was identified with the intensest Christian life. Syria was the region of the first Christian propaganda. In Antioch followers of Jesus were first called Christians. In Damascus, Paul was converted. Asia Minor was the scene of a considerable part of his missionary activity. Greece, which was Turkish until 1829, and Macedonia, which is still disputed, were the scenes of almost all the rest. Asia Minor was then one of the richest and most densely populated regions in the world. It had been for a thousand years the meeting-place of civilizations and religions. It came to be the most Christian area on earth. The unknown seer in the Apocalypse counted seven influential cities in which there were churches. Paul's letters and the Book of the Acts show that there were many more. The Ignatian letters reveal a vivid and vigorous life. At the Council of Nicaea there were present three hundred and eighteen bishops, only seven of whom were from west of the Hellespont. Even a council at Arles in 314 was largely attended from Asia Minor and Latin Africa. The success of the Christian

movement in the Lower Valley of the Nile is recalled by the very name of Alexandria. The names of Cyprian and Augustine cause us to remember the part which Roman Africa played. To the Pillars of Hercules the region north of the desert was one of the gardens of the world and was very largely Christianized. Edessa, now Urfa, east of the Euphrates, had been a center of Christianity at all events since 175 A.D. It later received the Nestorians when they were driven from the seats of orthodoxy. This church of Eastern Syria exerted great influence upon the development of the faith in Persia. It was responsible for missionary endeavor in both India and China. Armenia, the region extending from the southern slopes of the Caucasus over the high table-land to Ararat, received Christianity as early as the time of Gregory the Illuminator, 302 A.D. Armenians, now scattered over the Turkish Empire and represented in all parts of the world, have been Christian since that early day.

179. *The Byzantine period; the Arabs.*—Remnants of the early Christian church which we have named and the subdivisions which with lapse of time these have undergone are to be found in Ottoman territory today. In a general way they fall under the popular designation of the Greek church, in contrast to the Roman church as this developed after the great schism. They were always more or less independent of the central body of the Holy Orthodox church under the patriarch of Constantinople. Many of them have been viewed by the staunch orthodox element as heretical. They on their part have been jealous of their autonomy. These little outlying Christian peoples with their churches met

the full fury of the onrush of Islam. Jerusalem fell in 614, Alexandria in 618, Damascus in 634. Heraclius, the Byzantine emperor, made desperate effort to reclaim his lost territories. For a brief time he did again possess Jerusalem. The large part of the remoter regions have remained to this day under Mohammedan rule. Bagdad became one of the most famous of the caliphates, the center of Arab civilization. The iconoclastic struggles disrupted the Orthodox church when it had all possible need of unity. Yet on the whole, although Africa and Syria and the valleys of the Euphrates and Tigris which were once Christian had been lost, the Arab conquests paused. Relations with the caliphates were tolerable. The vigor of the Abassides declined.

180. *Seljuks and Osmans.*—A worse calamity was to follow. The grandson of Seljuk the Mongol had become a follower of the Prophet. This did not prevent him from overrunning the Arab Empire and Persia. His successor conquered Armenia, which, without help from Constantinople, had made a good stand thus far. In 1081 the sultan fixed the seat of his empire at Nicaea, the shrine of orthodoxy. The Mongols were practically savages from Central Asia. The Anatolian civilization went down before them never to recover. The cry of the emperor Comnenus to Christian Europe for help furnished an additional motive for that great international movement already gathering headway in the West, the Crusades. It was little that the Crusaders ever did for the relief of Eastern Christendom. The bitterness with which the two halves of Christendom hated one another had something to do with that. The provincialism of Europe, its ignorance of all matters

pertaining to the East, had more. Europe did not realize what was at stake in the struggle of emperor and patriarch at Constantinople or how soon, if these went down, the life and death struggle with the Mongol savage, now Mohammedan, would become a European matter. The glutted Seljuks deteriorated in the fair world which they were reducing to a desert. There was need of a new Mongol wave, that of the Osman Turks, to wipe out completely the civilization that had once been Greece and in some sense also Rome, the glory that had been Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Constantinople, and to put the oriental Christians under the feet of the Tatar converts of the Great Arabian. The end came in 1453. So strong was Constantinople, so well did its people apprehend what was at issue, that the overthrow was not accomplished until the Turks had seized large areas on the European side, had penetrated far into Greece and the Balkans and approached Constantinople from Roman Adrianople and from St. Paul's own Thessalonica. It seems the very irony of history to say that the fall of Constantinople first brought to Europeans the knowledge of the Near East which might have saved the city had they possessed it one or two generations earlier. As it was, the conquests of Islam were destined to advance much farther into Europe. They were checked first at the end of the seventeenth century. They have been reversed only in the nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth.

181. *Problem of the ancient Christian churches.*—It will be evident that the problem of missions in the Ottoman Empire was very different from that which has been met in any country of which we have thus far

spoken. In the empire as a whole before the war there were supposed to be about forty million people. Of these, eight million were Turks and the rest were of twenty different races. Of the subject races of ancient Christian inheritance in accordance with the custom of the country all must have connection with one or another of the churches. The Porte officially dealt with the subject populations as adherents of this or that religion. It recognized them only under some ecclesiastical authority. To be without religious connection in Turkey was to be without civil rights. The course of the history of the American missions led them early to realize that the time had not yet come for direct approach to the problem which the Turkish Moslems present. In most lands the evangelistic stage, that of the presentation of the gospel and the formation of little religious communities, has preceded educational work and medicine and the work of the press. In Asia Minor the Americans were convinced that so far as the Moslems were concerned the order should be reversed. The approach to a people so intensely hostile to the Christian faith must be through works of mercy and enlightenment, through contribution to the change in the civilization of the empire which the missionaries were convinced was bound to come. For this new order of missionary procedure points of departure were everywhere given in the subject races. So far were the Armenians and Greeks the ablest element of the population that their bitter persecutions were due largely to Turkish recognition of that fact. Besides there was the recognition of the common element between them and the missionaries which was given in the possession

of the Christian faith. These peoples could not be approached in the ordinary way of missionary work. To have ignored their Christian standing would have been outrageous. Yet there was much that the Christians from the West could do for them. This possible service was exactly in the line of that which the missionaries had judged as to the mode of approach to the Turks and the empire as a whole. It was service through educational institutions and the press, through hospitals and general philanthropy. The plan was to leave ecclesiastical and theological questions on one side. It was to work for the inner transformation of the ancient Christian churches and by no means to set up bodies of mission adherents beside them or to add to the number of warring Christian sects.

182. *Roman and Anglican efforts.*—No enlightened Christian from the West could view these oriental Christian bodies without profound sympathy because of their glorious history and of the unspeakable things which they had suffered. As little could he be unaware that, in consequence of their misfortunes, of their isolation, and of their mutual antagonisms, they had fallen behind that development which the course of centuries had brought to Western Christendom. To suppose that they would not be Christian until they had adopted the forms of faith and practice of some of our Western denominations would be shameful bigotry. Yet to aid them in the development of their own religious life and in the reform of their ecclesiastical institutions, to help them to escape a view of Christianity which regarded it as nothing but orthodoxy and ceremonialism, was a problem of greatest insight and tact. Latins have

been present in the empire, especially in Palestine, in appreciable numbers since the time of the Crusades. Yet the suspicion and hatred between the Latin and oriental churches had been such that one could hardly speak of a religious influence of these devout groups of scholars or of monks and nuns upon the Christians of the land. What the orientals heard of various attempts at union, as, for example, that between Latins and the orthodox of Little Russia, did not improve the matter. The fact that the Maronites on the Lebanon had in a body transferred their allegiance to the pope was but a confirmation of that which the Eastern Christians feared. To this day one can hardly speak of Roman missionary activity in the Ottoman Empire, although there have been illustrious scholars from Latin countries long resident in the Levant, and although there have been Roman ecclesiastics in Constantinople ever since the days when under the second empire France exerted great influence upon the Porte. The monks and nuns have done hospital and orphanage work and some school work. Exactly the thing which was needed, however, aid to the oriental churches in the realization of themselves, seemed to lie outside of the Roman power. The scores of thousands of Russian peasant pilgrims to the fields over whose acres walked the blessed feet have left the country exactly as they found it. The Anglican church in the seventeenth century in the time of the Patriarch Cyril Lucar drew close to the Holy Orthodox church and has since had periods of reviving the hope of union with that church. It has been extremely sensitive as to anything which implied less than unqualified reverence for the tradition of the

Eastern churches. It has severely criticized the course of Protestant bodies when these seemed to be working to the detriment of those claims. Yet in all the long years, now nearly ninety, in which England has wielded great influence at Constantinople, the Anglican church has taken little responsibility for any work in the Ottoman Empire and less for work on behalf of the Christian churches in that empire. The establishment of the Jerusalem bishopric in connection with the Anglican church in 1841, although, or perhaps because, it was achieved by joint action with the Lutheran church of the kingdom of Prussia, was an offense to many, especially in the High Church party. After all it endeavored mainly to develop work among the Moslems. The Church Missionary Society has had work in Palestine since 1851 centering at Jerusalem, Nazareth, and Nablus, but this also has been chiefly for Moslems.

183. *The American missions; the press.*—When in 1820 the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions sent out Pliny Fiske and Levi Parsons it was the intention that they should be located at Jerusalem and labor for the conversion of the Jews. They were, however, commissioned to report upon the general conditions in the empire and the prospect of success in appeal to adherents of other faiths. Next after the Jews it was the Moslems who were had in mind. Parsons went almost at once to Jerusalem, but the outbreak of the Greek revolution compelled him to return to Smyrna, where he died in 1822. Jonas King took his place. In Jerusalem for two years he and Fiske devoted themselves to study of the languages, but a Jerusalem station was never reopened under this Board. Beirut,

however, became the center of a work which has been highly influential. Goodell and Bird were the first permanent missionaries. Goodell mastered Arabic, Turkish, and Armenian as well as modern Greek. He set about the work of translating the Bible and established a press. In 1827 thirteen free schools were opened in the city and vicinity. These schools had six hundred pupils, one hundred of them girls, a thing before unknown. There was bitter opposition especially from the Maronites of the Lebanon and from the Latin Catholics. After the battle of Navarino the British consulate under whose protection the Americans had labored was temporarily closed and the little mission had to flee to Malta. The sojourn in Malta marked the decision henceforth to make greatest possible use of the press for mission work throughout the Turkish Empire. By 1833 conditions were such that it was possible to return to Beirut. The Arabic press was taken to Beirut while the Greek, Turkish, and Armenian equipment was transferred to Smyrna. Names later famous began to appear in the mission in these years, especially those of Riggs, van Lennep, and Dwight. Goodell was sent to open a station at Constantinople; associated with him was William Schauffler. The mission press at Constantinople then began its career. Perhaps the most remarkable man in the whole circle was Elias Riggs. He went to Athens in 1832, then in 1844 to Smyrna, and in 1853 to Constantinople. He is said to have had a working knowledge of twenty languages and to have been the master of twelve. He did a large part of the work of the Armenian translation of the Bible, which appeared in 1852. He was the sole author

of the translation into Bulgarian, which was issued in 1871. He was with Schauffler and Herrick the reviser of the translation into Turkish, which was printed in both Arabic and Armenian characters in 1878. He wrote numbers of schoolbooks and devotional books in nine different languages. A considerable part of the income of the American and Foreign Bible Society was for forty years absorbed by its subsidies to the output of the Constantinople press. Second only to the Turkish translation above named came the Smith–Van Dyke translation into Arabic. The issue of the Constantinople Protestant press until 1913, including works of educational and religious literature of every sort, reached the total of fifty million pages.

184. *Work for Armenians.*—At Constantinople was made also the first successful approach to the Armenians, of whom there were a hundred thousand in the city. A learned and devout Armenian, Pesthinaljian, brought to the attention of Goodell the movement gathering strength within the Armenian church for reform of the life of the clergy and for the better education of candidates. The patriarch expressed himself as favorable to the missionaries' plans of aid. Then was made clear the policy of the Board to work only in and through the oriental churches and in no way to act in rivalry with them. During this period also there was sent out an expedition into Eastern Asia Minor and Persia which located many of the stations later connected with the Board's best work, Erzroom, Tiflis, and Tabriz. In 1839 the tolerant patriarch of the Armenians was replaced by a man of different mold. Many of the priests had begun to resent the insistence of their own authorities upon better

morals and education. They correctly laid the responsibility at the door of the missionaries. The reactionary party gained the upper hand. Representations were made to the sultan which might have resulted in the closing of the American mission at Constantinople had not the hands of the Ruler of the Faithful been more than full at the moment on account of the revolt in Egypt. The Armenian patriarch Matteos (1844–48) excommunicated from the church all those who appeared to be moved by the Protestant spirit. For years it had been difficult for the missionaries to convince their sympathizers that they should not withdraw from the ancestral churches in which they were now made to suffer every indignity. These desired to set up communities after the American Congregationalist model, to elect their own ministers and escape the authority of the hierarchy. The patriarch's expulsion of this element from the church now left them no other course. Nor indeed was there any course left for the missionaries save to aid them. The Turkish government in 1850 recognized the Protestant body. Without such recognition the participants in the movement would have lost their civil rights. To the wisest of the missionaries it was a great disappointment. It was the failure of an ideal.

185. *The Protestant Armenians; the massacres.*— The evangelical mission body, the Protestant church within the Ottoman state, has made fair progress. After the first period of antagonism there was, however, a general return to the earlier and better attitude toward the ancient churches. Every effort has been made in the missions to induce those who came under the

influence of the missionaries, whether in the schools, through the press, or in the medical work, to remain in the communion to which their families belonged. The fact that in the great number of educational institutions, higher and secondary and for both sexes sustained by missions throughout the land, three-fourths of the pupils came from non-Protestant homes is surely evidence of good faith. The attitude of the Armenian and Orthodox and Greek hierarchies, to mention only the greater ones, while subject to variation, has grown more kindly with the lapse of years. Of the attitude of the government something similar might be said. The so-called Hatti Humajian treaty, exacted from the Porte by Lord Stratford de Redcliffe in 1856 under the pressure of the Crimean War, marked the farthest limit of reforming concessions in the matter of religious toleration. At that time both the Church Missionary Society and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel increased their work in Turkey, addressed mainly to the Mohammedans, only to withdraw from a part of that work again in the period of the sultan's disfavor, which began in 1864. For twenty years after that date the Protestant movement was subjected to every inconvenience and sometimes to actual violence. There was a change for the better after 1886. Yet the situation left much to be desired. Persecution brought the Armenians and Protestants closer together. At the end of fifty years, or in 1895, the Protestant body numbered only about twelve thousand communicants. In the following year they suffered decimation in an Armenian massacre which then seemed an appalling calamity. But the events of these last years, the effort

to exterminate the whole Armenian race, makes all previous sufferings of this brave people small by comparison.

186. *Cyrus Hamlin; Robert College.*—The career of Cyrus Hamlin and the history of Robert College is so typical for the educational aspect of the work of the Americans in Turkey that the story may be told in some detail. Hamlin came to Constantinople in 1838 under the American Board, charged with the establishment of a theological seminary for candidates for the priesthood in the oriental churches. Beginnings were small. The students were almost without exception Armenians. A fourth part of them came from homes of Gregorian and Orthodox clergy. This is the more noteworthy because it was exactly in the circle of the clergy that fear of the education which the missionaries were giving began later to make itself felt. Hamlin was not willing merely to dispense aid to needy students. He established industrial classes and himself taught at the anvil and at the bench of both the carpenter and the cobbler. Such ideas were new to the oriental clergy. In 1846 came the breach with the Armenian patriarch. Those who would not break with the mission and its school lost all hope of preferment in the church. They were ostracized in the community. Just when the theological seminary had reached its lowest ebb the Crimean War broke out. Care of the sick and wounded and even work for the Turkish commissariat furnished scope for Hamlin's boundless energy. When the war was over the Board decided to transfer the seminary to Marsovan in the interior and to conduct all instruction in the vernaculars. Hamlin's idea was just the opposite.

He desired to develop a college on the lines of the best American institutions and for students fitting for every career. For this purpose he needed to remain in Constantinople, to have freedom accorded him, and greater funds placed at his disposal. The issue of education was then rife in many missions. The Board was passing through a sort of revulsion in its policy. Challenged to go forward in new ways it for the moment decided to return as far as possible to purely evangelistic endeavor. Hamlin rebelled. He returned to America and sought to change the attitude of the Board. Failing in this he resigned. He sought private aid for his scheme of a preparatory school and college on the shores of the Bosporus which should some day grow into a university. So well did he plead the cause of the new era in missions that Christopher Robert, a merchant of New York, consented for the time at least to guarantee the venture. A charter was sought under the laws of the state of New York. A board of trustees was elected. It was composed of American business men, educators, and clergymen. Later a co-operating committee was formed of residents of Constantinople representing the various racial and ecclesiastical constituencies. The college was named for Mr. Robert and Hamlin was chosen president. The Turkish government interposed every obstacle in the way of purchase of ground or permit to build. Hamlin lived through years in which his project brought him little but disappointment. It was 1863 before the institution was acknowledged by the Porte and placed under the diplomatic protection of the United States. The site at Bebek was chosen, an hour from Constantinople on the shores of the Bosporus

close to the ruins of the Rumeli fortress with the hills of Asia before it.

187. *Later years of Robert College.*—Hamlin remained but ten years at the head of the institution to which he had given his life. He saw it grow into a preparatory school with a four years' course and a college with again a four years' course in preparation for the degree of Bachelor of Arts. Degrees are conferred under the Board of Regents of the state of New York. He saw the college pass under the guidance of his friend and son-in-law, George Washburn, who presided over its destinies until 1902. Hamlin lived until 1900 in unwearying activity. Washburn, who died in 1915, saw, through the gifts of Mr. Kennedy and others, his college in possession of a plant and endowment which place it among the best-equipped institutions of the sort in any land. Its engineering school is the first of the professional and technical departments by which it is to grow into a university. It is a Christian college but absolutely non-sectarian. In 1915–16, the second year of the Great War, when the participation of Turkey was beginning to tell heavily upon its constituency, Robert College had 419 students, 240 of these being in the preparatory department. These students represented 17 different races, 182 being Greeks, 133 Armenians, and 62 Turks. They were of 7 different faiths, 230 of them belonging to the Orthodox church and 111 to the Gregorian. There were 79 Moslems and only 34 Protestants. Dr. Caleb F. Gates, formerly of Euphrates College at Harpoot, has been president since 1903. Of all the European subjects of the Ottoman Empire the Bulgarians were before the war best represented among the students. That the

college has had great part in the education of the peoples of the empire in the desire for freedom and for representative government there can be no doubt. The personality of Dr. Washburn, who was fifty years in Constantinople and ten years more in closest touch with the affairs of the Levant, was of greater significance in some ways than even the institution over which he presided. He was the trusted friend of the diplomats of almost every nation and had the confidence of the Porte. He reaped the advantage of his country's remoteness from all the political questions which agitated the Near East. His genuine sympathy with the moral and religious interests of the various ecclesiastical parties and rival faiths was as surely reckoned upon as was his own uncompromising Christian character. He was an educator in a sense in which Hamlin was not. No man of his generation knew the problems of the Near East better than Washburn or contributed more to a solution which sometimes now seems very far off but which may be very near.

188. *The college at Beirut.*—One can hardly name Robert College and Dr. Washburn without thinking of the Syrian Protestant College at Beirut and Dr. Daniel Bliss, its founder and president. This institution has done for Palestine, Syria, and Egypt much the same work which Robert College has done for the Balkans, Greece, and Asia Minor. Bliss went to Beirut at the time when the Syrian and Palestinian mission was under the American Board. This was one of the missions which in 1869 were set off to the Presbyterians. The college had been founded, however, in 1863 and, guided by the experience of Hamlin and the school at Bebek,

it had been founded as a chartered and endowed institution only indirectly related to the mission. This institution also is incorporated under the laws of the state of New York and has a co-operating committee in Beirut. Several members of this committee and many members of the faculty are members of the mission. This center of Western learning in the East has also an incomparable situation, high on the Ras Beirut with the sea before it and the Lebanon behind. It was founded only shortly after the rebellion of the Druses had made the work of the mission difficult. The partial French protectorate, which was established after the insurrection, did not make that work easier. The college had in 1907, 21 professors and 38 instructors. It had 878 students of whom 346 were Greek Orthodox, 147 were Protestants, 127 were Moslems, 62 were Jews, and 20 were Druses. There were even a few Roman Catholics. Scarcely a race or tribe in all the mixed population of Syria was unrepresented. The institution has a preparatory school and a college after the American pattern. It has also four professional or technical courses. There is a medical school, a school of pharmacy, a school of business, and an archaeological institute. The medical school is by far the most important. It has had the patronage of the Ottoman government. As the college and preparatory schools have departments for women, so also there is a school for nurses attached to the department of medicine, with a clinic for women and a children's hospital. The archaeological institute has taken over the conduct of explorations in a country which presents unrivaled opportunity. Participation in religious instruction and

in the public services for worship, for a long time compulsory, has recently been made voluntary. The college is viewed by all the Protestant missions in the Near East and Egypt as their university. It stands far above any of the Turkish institutions. The Jesuit university of St. Joseph in Beirut does it the honor of keen rivalry. Dr. Bliss died in 1916 in Beirut in the midst of the Great War. His son, Howard S. Bliss, had succeeded him in 1904 as the head of the institution.

189. *Constantinople College; the college at Smyrna.*— This narrative would not be complete did we not allude to Constantinople College for women, long in Scutari on the Asiatic side, but of late occupying splendid buildings not far from Robert College. After the mission boarding school for girls at Constantinople had been closed in 1862 the so-called Home School was established in 1871 by the Woman's Board working in conjunction with the American Board. In 1883 Miss Mary Patrick became principal. Miss Patrick was one of the first women to take a degree in a Swiss university. In 1890 the institution was chartered under the laws of the state of Massachusetts as the American College for Girls. By a new charter in 1908 the institution became entirely independent of the Board, money for the plant and endowment being secured in one year which more than equaled all that the Board had put into the institution by the labor and sacrifice of a generation. Since 1912 it has been known officially as Constantinople College. In that year fourteen different nationalities were enrolled among its students. The course leading to the degree of Bachelor of Arts is practically the same as that of the

best American colleges for women. The college declares itself a Christian college yet adds that no student is refused admittance to the college or denied any of its privileges, honors, or degrees on account of her religious opinions.

The International College at Smyrna and the American Collegiate Institute for Girls at Smyrna are still to some extent under the guidance and responsibility of the American Board, but are far on the way toward that independence which is the goal of the development of all these institutions. Anatolia College at Marsovan with its theological seminary, Euphrates College at Harpoot, also with a seminary, Central Turkey College at Aintab, Central Turkey College for Girls at Marash, St. Paul's Institute at Tarsus, schools like those at Van and Bitlis just advancing to college grade, with a whole network of secondary and primary schools and kindergartens all over Asia Minor, are still part of the Board's plant and show how uniformly Christian education has been apprehended as the key to the Ottoman problem. Practically all of these schools and colleges in the interior have been used as relief stations and orphanages since the war began. A considerable portion of the Board's staff, both men and women, has remained to carry on this relief. They have witnessed the sufferings of the Armenians. Their aid is accepted by the Turks. The medical work has of course played a prominent part in this relief.

190. *Medical work.*—From the earliest years of the mission physicians have had place on the staff. Dr. Van Dyke came to Beirut in 1840. His later activities were, however, largely in the direction of literary work.

Dr. Post was pre-eminent as physician and surgeon. He won distinction as an author in medical and scientific subjects. For a generation there existed in Beirut an interesting example of international and inter-denominational co-operation in medical work. The German hospital called after the Order of St. John was placed at the disposal of the American physicians and surgeons while Kaiserwerth deaconesses were responsible for the nursing. There is a hospital of the Orthodox Greeks in Beirut before which the authorities have set up a statue of Van Dyke in recognition of their debt to the pioneer missionary physician. Dr. Mary Eddy traveled for years through the most difficult and dangerous portions of the country about Beirut to do medical work on behalf of women. No doubt the tradition of the Beirut Presbyterian Mission in this regard led naturally to the development of the Beirut Medical School. Constantinople was a place of such concourse of foreigners and the cultivation of all their interests that the place has never had need of a high development of medical practice or teaching under specific missionary auspices. In Middle and Eastern Asia Minor almost every larger station has been a center for medical work. The names of West, of Sivas, Raynolds, of Van, Shepard, of Aintab, Dodd and Post, of Talas, Thom, of Mardin, Atkinson, of Harpoot, as also of Miss Cushman, of Konia, Miss Graffam, of Sivas, and Miss Willard, of Marsovan, will not easily be forgotten. These are only representatives of a great number of thoroughly trained physicians, both men and women, who have given themselves to the relief of suffering of both Moslems and Christians in a land where, for one cause

and another, the misery has been as great in the last four years as in any portion of the world. Women physicians have attained especial prominence in Persia.

191. *The Ottoman situation.*—Allusion was made above in passing to the decay of the Ottoman power in the course of the last century. The Peace of Paris at the end of the Crimean War had given the Porte a standing as a European power. Two great Christian powers, France and England, had fought upon the side of the Turk against a third, Russia. They then demanded of Turkey certain reforms in administration, particularly in respect to the treatment of the Christian subject peoples. It was ostensibly to guarantee the defense of those Christian subject peoples, or a part of them, that Russia also had entered the war. The Western European powers felt that Russia had other ends at stake. The Porte might be pardoned for assuming that England and France also had other ends at stake. At all events there was created or at least confirmed a situation in which it became for two generations the main item of the foreign policy of Turkey to play off one set of European powers against the other. The Ottoman debt became an investment for English and French capital and grew to stupendous proportions compared with any tangible assets which the country possessed. It became an obvious means of averting the resort on the part of any of the powers to extreme measures. The deeper the Turk was in debt the more certain it was that the rival powers would never permit any one of their number to force the debtor into bankruptcy. There can be no doubt that the English in particular cherished sincere hopes that kind

and generous measures would aid the government to reform itself.

192. *Internal questions; subject populations.*—When Abdul Hamid II came to the throne in 1876 he granted a constitution which was almost immediately withdrawn. There grew up slowly at first and more decisively before the end of his long reign a reforming movement among the Turks themselves. This Party of Progress or Young Turk movement desired certain changes in the direction of representative government. They wished to open their country to certain influences of the West. Their movement always suffered from an inner contradiction. A progressive Turkey would surely become one in which the exclusive rights and privileges which the Turks had had ever since the conquest would be diminished. The old Sultan seems to have seen this more clearly than did the reformers. It was surely true that in a freer Turkey education and morals would count for more. In a prosperous industrial Turkey in which money had other uses than merely the paying of taxes the Armenians would take a different place. The Greeks would not be far behind. The old racial animosity and religious hatred counted for something. Yet some additional reasons such as those above suggested must be imagined to explain the fact that in most recent times, when the advanced advocates of Turkish progress have certainly not been of the intense religious fervor of their ancestors, the persecutions of the Armenians have increased. Recently when the call of the rulers to a Holy War has fallen upon deaf ears, when nobody pretends that the prime movers among the Turks are led by any but cynically secular

motives, the effort at the extermination of the whole race of the Armenians has been made with unexampled plan and pertinacity. The last twenty-five years have witnessed the exacerbation of the lot of the subject populations in the Ottoman Empire and particularly of the Armenians in a measure which is almost beyond belief. The Greeks had suffered at Chios, but part of Greece at least had been able to win independence. The Bulgarians had suffered horribly before 1877, but the Bulgarians by the aid of Russia had won their independence. There was no such hope for the Armenians.

193. *The Armenians.*—After the defeat of Turkey by Russia in the war of 1877–78, when the treaty of San Stefano was revised by the Congress of Berlin, the concert of the six major European powers demanded comprehensive reforms especially for Armenia. The official document of the congress reads thus: "The Sublime Porte undertakes without delay to carry out the ameliorations and reforms which are demanded by the local conditions in the provinces inhabited by the Armenians." The powers were, however, not at one among themselves. The diplomacy of the next generation was a humiliating chapter of mistakes and uncertainties. The guardianship of Europe over the subjects of the Porte was irritating to the latter. The prosperity of the Armenians in particular was viewed by the Turks much as that of the Jews was viewed in the Christian states of the Middle Ages. Armenians who had been able to leave Turkey agitated from a safe distance, not always realizing the consequences to their compatriots in the land. There were allegations of preparation for

rebellion and rash steps at least by individuals. The old method was usually adopted, not of dealing with the individuals who were suspected or proved guilty, but of visiting their supposed sins on their race en masse. The confidence of the government that the powers would not effectively interfere was justified. From September, 1895, until June, 1896, there was something like a reign of terror, especially for the Armenians. The Moslem populace was let loose in fury. The course of events gave only too much color to the assumption that the government was complacent. There perished ninety thousand Armenians of whom ten thousand were Protestants. More than half a million were absolutely impoverished. Two hundred and sixty-eight churches were destroyed and half that number turned into mosques. The missions everywhere were reduced to serving merely as centers of relief. Great sums were raised in Europe and America. Industrial missions as a phase of work in the Ottoman Empire came into being at this time and in connection largely with the orphanages. The change of government in 1908 gave hope that this terrible chapter was ended. These hopes have been doomed to the bitterest disappointment.

194. *The revolution in Turkey.*—In 1908 Macedonian questions almost brought about an intervention of the powers such as Lord Salisbury had urged in 1896. A revolution in Turkey in that year surprised the world and raised hopes that the Turks would now address themselves to the tasks from which the powers, despite their protests, had manifestly shrunk. On July 23, 1908, the Committee of Union and Progress under the presidency of Enver Bey proclaimed the

constitution in Salonica and threatened to march on Constantinople. The sultan yielded, proclaimed the restitution of the constitution of 1876, and ordered the election of a Chamber of Deputies. Although it was made clear that the revolution was essentially a Turkish affair, Kiamil Pasha, an advanced liberal, became grand vizier, and a Greek, an Armenian, and the Sheikh-ul-Islam, the spiritual head of the Moslem world, took places in the cabinet. The sultan opened the parliament. In 1909 a counter-revolution almost succeeded in ridding the sultan of the reformers and restoring to him his absolute power. The Assembly declared itself in favor of the Committee. Shevket Pasha after severe fighting occupied the capital. The sultan was deposed and removed to Salonica. Rishad Effendi, the brother of the sultan, was chosen in his place and took the title of Mohammed V, the Sheikh-ul-Islam taking part in these proceedings. The reorganization of the army was intrusted to the German General von der Goltz, that of the navy to Admiral Sir Douglas Gamble. There were wonderful expressions of hope and fraternal feeling in the empire at this time. Also there was an intensification of foreign intrigue. Reforms lagged. The educational program which had been announced was held in abeyance. The finances were in hopeless condition. The animus of the ruling circles showed itself in a ruthless policy of Ottomanization. For the fervid Mohammedans of Arabia, who viewed themselves as somehow the soul of the empire and who were the keepers of the sacred places, Ottomanization meant more of Western civilization than they wished. For the Balkan peoples Ottomanization meant less of

Western civilization than they already had. The seizure of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria seemed a violation of the kind of tacit agreement which prevailed to let the Turks work out their own salvation if they could. The Italian invasion of Tripoli made the same impression. A wise observer of Ottoman affairs had said that if the Balkan States could only unite in a common effort they might drive out the Turk, but even if they should do this they would disagree again among themselves and then the Turk would claim his own again. Precisely this happened. At the end of the first Balkan war the Ottoman Empire was reduced to a little strip of territory about Constantinople. At the end of the second (1912–13) the Turks had regained a good part of what they had lost, and the Balkan powers, embittered in their fratricidal struggle, had taken up the alignment which more or less they have observed in the world-war which was so soon to follow. Mohammed V died in 1918.

195. *The Turks and the Great War.*—In the present war Bulgaria took the side of the Central Powers and was soon followed by the Porte. Enver and Talaat Bey, the most influential persons, had long looked to Germany to aid them in their projects. The Germans had had much to do with development of the railroads so essential to Asia Minor and Syria, so essential also to the schemes of Germany. German diplomacy had for years been gaining ascendancy at Constantinople. English and French influence once potent had waned. The ruling spirits in New Turkey had had experience of that influence. They thought they saw their interest in the alliance with the Central Powers. To an outsider

it would have seemed that they were likely at the most to learn that what Rehoboam said of his father's sovereignty in comparison with his own would prove true. It was hardly to be foreseen that almost the first consequence of the entrance of Turkey upon the war was the letting loose once more of the spirit of persecution on the poor Armenians. In the old days none but Turks served in the army. Under the reforms the subject Christians have been taken for compulsory service as well. The men being everywhere absent with the troops, the aged and the women and the children have in many places been deported almost upon a moment's notice. They have been sent forth by tens of thousands in utter helplessness upon journeys in which it was quite impossible that anything but the smallest remnant should reach the goal. No one knows as yet how many have perished. There has been such plan and system in the deportations that it is impossible to acquit the government. Exactly what was the end in view is not clear. Enough is known to justify the assertion that this is one of the most awful calamities which have ever befallen a helpless people. The end is not yet.

196. *The present situation.*—All the subject peoples of the Ottoman Empire have suffered. The Turks themselves are doubtless suffering. The Arabs of the whole west side of the peninsula, the region of the sacred cities, disapproving of the course taken at Constantinople revolted and set up a state of their own which co-operated with the Entente. The fact is not without bearing upon the loyalty of Moslems under the British crown. Everywhere in this misery the missionaries

have stood to their task. They have been the main instrument in the distribution of the charity of European nations and America in the effort to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, to heal the sick and wounded, to care for widows and orphans, and to hold all that can be held for the national welfare in the better time which is to be. Not a few missionaries have died at their posts, only a very few by violence, far more by disease or else worn out through the long strain. The saying has verified itself which was made by an old pasha fifty years ago: "No matter what you do to those people you will never get them out of the country, because they have come here for our sakes." The measure of the missionary catastrophe in Asia Minor may be thus stated. In many places not merely is the work destroyed but almost all the people for whom and by whom that work was being done and with whom lay the future of it have been destroyed as well. It may be that out of the crisis through which the Turks are passing and are yet to pass, by the spectacle of the sufferings and by the influence of the spirit of the Christian population, the Moslem population will be accessible as never before.

197. *The Moslem world outside the Ottoman Empire; Malaysia; India.*—Disproportionate space has been given to the missions to the relatively small Christian populations in the Ottoman Empire. Those who have prosecuted these missions believed that besides the worthiness of the work in itself it afforded an approach to the Moslem problem as a whole. Yet, when all is said, the hope of missions to Moslems is greater almost anywhere else on earth than under the rule of the sultan.

It must be remembered, however, that by far the greater number of Mohammedans are under the rule of the nations of Christendom. Where these guarantee protection change of faith is by no means infrequent. In India and Malaysia alone are half the Mussulmans of the world, and in these countries notable progress has been made. In Java the vast majority of the thirty millions of the population are Moslems. The Established church of Holland ministers to Javanese whose ancestors became Christian four or five generations ago. A Moslem university has been established at Batavia, showing that the faith of the Prophet is represented in the highest classes of society and avails itself of methods introduced by the Christians in order to meet the Christian propaganda. The Jesuits have a mission in Batavia which counts thirty thousand adherents of the Roman church, many of whom have been drawn from among the Moslem population. In Sumatra the Rhenish Missionary Society, working in conjunction with the Dutch, has done a wonderful work among the Bataks in the interior of the island. In India the case is still more striking. Here for the most part effort has not been made to meet the Mohammedans as a separate element in the population. Perhaps less animosity is aroused in this way. In the Punjab and the Northwest Province almost every congregation has a representative from the Moslem ranks. Some of the churches have a majority of their membership gathered from this source. No one society or denomination has the pre-eminence in this work. The Mohammedan races of North India are among the most vigorous of the people, not only famous fighters, but men of renown in the intellectual

life as well. A distinguished Indian Christian, Imad-ud-din, of illustrious Moslem family, appended to a paper written for the Chicago Conference of Religions more than twenty years ago a list of the names of one hundred and seventeen converts from Islam to Christianity who were occupying high positions in state or church in India.

198. *Persia; Transcaucasia.*—The Persians are the only Aryan race which ever accepted Islam. Henry Martyn, a chaplain under the East India Company, learned Persian in India and then asked to be transferred to Persia that he might revise his translation of the Bible and seek to win the Moslems. The American Board established a station among the Nestorians in 1834 which was passed over to the Presbyterians in 1871 and has worked successfully among the Kurds. The Presbyterian mission has been far more effective than its predecessor in work for the Mohammedans. In this connection it is illuminating to note the Russian influence also upon the Moslem populations in certain parts of the Russian Empire in Southwestern Asia. The Mohammedan kingdom of Kazan was conquered by Ivan the Terrible in 1552. The Russification of these provinces included the forcible conversion of many to the Orthodox creed. Yet at the present day fully half of the population of these regions is Moslem and more than half of the people of Turkestan and Russian Tatary. In the year 1850 the Russian church had come to a better understanding of the nature of missionary work. Veniaminoff was the typical figure. He was made missionary bishop in 1867 and later metropolitan of Moscow. In 1870 he founded the Orthodox Mis-

sionary Society of the Russian church to assist in the conversion of non-Christian peoples within the limits of the Russian Empire. The labor of the Society has extended widely in the Moslem provinces. Ilminsky, long years a missionary in Siberia, became professor of Eastern languages in the University of Kazan, translated the Bible into Tatar, inaugurated a great scheme for the education of those provinces, and exerted influence both upon the Moslems and upon the tribes who turning away from their paganism often became Moslems. The Church Missionary Society has a mission at Quetta which has been a center for work not alone in Baluchistan but also over the border in Afghanistan. Pennell spent years on the Afghan border and even went to Kabul and Kandahar. Lord Roberts said that no more heroic life was ever spent in the effort to make known to these remote and warlike peoples what Christianity really meant.

199. *Egypt and Arabia.*—One of the most significant efforts on behalf of Moslems is that which has long been conducted in Egypt and in the Valley of the Nile so far as the Egyptian Sudan primarily by United Presbyterians from America. The rebellion of Mohammed Ali broke the power of the Porte in Egypt. A more or less independent Moslem rule was maintained there, although the khedive acknowledged the suzerainty of the sultan. The deposition of the khedive in 1915 by the British put an end to that. In return for being supported by the European powers Ali opened Egypt to European influence. France built the Suez Canal and for a time was preponderant in Egyptian affairs. After 1881 England asserted her mastery. Whatever may be said

of the method of coming by that control the development of the country under the long and able administration of Lord Cromer made Egypt one of the wonders of the Eastern World. Cairo is the meeting-place of three continents, and, though not ancient, preserves in some ways as distinct a flavor of Moslem Egypt in the days of its glory as can anywhere be found. Among the wonders wrought in Lord Cromer's administration is a system of public instruction similar to that which obtains in India. A university at Cairo is planned. The United Presbyterians had had, long before the English occupation, a system of mission schools which from the sea to Luxor worked for the fellahin. They also are seeking to develop in Cairo a university, parallel, one might say, to Robert College in Constantinople. Then too the rich Mohammedans, not alone of Egypt but in a measure from all over the Moslem West, are endeavoring to build up a real university. They desire to differentiate their aim from the purely propagandist purposes of Al Azhar. This last, although often called the Mohammedan University, teaches Moslem doctrine, mainly to traders and travelers, who do much of the zealous work now going on in Africa. It is said to have twelve thousand students. They are, however, largely without previous education. Their sole study is the interpretation of the Koran. It could not even be called a theological seminary, for the Mohammedan faith has, strictly speaking, no class of persons corresponding to priests or ministers. The Church Missionary Society began work for Moslems in 1882, the year after the British occupation. The center of their work also is at Cairo. Thornton, their ablest missionary,

did much to interpret Christianity to the Mohammedans. Gairdner is his worthy successor and an authority on many Moslem questions. The mission publishes a newspaper in Arabic which is allowed to circulate even in Al Azhar. Arabia, the first Mohammedan land, is also the last to be entered by the Christian missionary propaganda. In 1882, Edward Palmer, professor of Arabic of Cambridge, author of the *Desert of Exodus*, met a violent death at the hands of Arabs, a race among many tribes of which he had lived as one of themselves. For its vast size Arabia has a very sparse population confined almost necessarily to the borders of the peninsula. The life of these earliest followers of the great Arabian has probably changed less in the thirteen hundred years since the Hegira than has the life of any equal number of people on the earth. Yet the spirit of the modern world has at last touched even them. The commerce of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf began the movement. The development of Syria southward from Damascus and of the railways reaching almost to Mecca have carried it forward. The declaration of war on the part of the Arab chiefs against the Sultan in 1917 may carry them farther than anybody now imagines. So early as 1885 Ian Keith-Falconer, a Scotchman, later also the professor of Arabic at Cambridge, made a preliminary visit to Aden. In 1880, Palmer had been his examiner. In 1887 he inaugurated a work near Aden on behalf of the Arabs and Somali negroes from the mainland who also were devout Mohammedans. After four months he died. The United Free Church of Scotland has carried forward his endeavor, which is as yet mainly medical and educational. In 1889 an

undenominational mission was established in America to support work among Moslems in Arabia. This was presently taken over by the Reformed Dutch church in America. In addition to its work at Muscat and Bahrein it has stations outside the peninsula in Bassora and Koweyt. The best known of its missionaries is Zwemer.

200. *Outlook of Islam.*—It will be evident from what has been said that there is a significant drift of modernized Moslems away from the faith of their fathers and also away from any faith whatsoever. This last is the parallel of much that is taking place in Christendom; only an Arab or a Turk who despises Christianity, not because he adheres to Islam but because he respects no religion, is a novelty. On the other hand, there is a great stirring of missionary zeal in other circles of Mohammedans in many nations. A great effort is being made especially in Africa to offset the losses which Islam has suffered. There are said to be forty-two million Moslems in Africa, half of them south of the twentieth parallel of latitude and many of them recent converts from their immemorial paganism. There is a Pan-Islamism which relates to the faith which seems likely to be far more successful than the Pan-Islamism which has proved an *ignis fatuus* to the new leaders of the Ottoman state. Contact with the outside world has done much to mitigate the old prejudice of Moslems against Christians as also those of Christians against Moslems. The way is open as it never was before. Mohammedanism may now very easily and very soon become just what Judaism has long been, a faith without a country. Whether Moslems in these circumstances

will show the qualities which the Jews have shown in like case is an interesting question. It is certain that a faith which has so long met the religious needs of many different races has large elements of vitality in it. It is equally certain that a race which has played so disastrous a rôle in the history of Islam itself as the Turk has played for four centuries past will not exert much power in free competition with men of superior races professing the same faith. The fall of the Turk may mean both the opening of the Moslem world yet wider to Christianity and as well the recovery of Islam to its own better self.

CHAPTER XI

AFRICA

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201. The Africa of the Moors
202. The real Africa
203. Beginnings of missionary work; Portuguese and Dutch
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CHAPTER XI

AFRICA

201. *The Africa of the Moors.*—Egypt has belonged until within three years to the Ottoman Empire. The north coast of Africa, once the seat of a flourishing Christianity, has belonged for twelve hundred years to the Moslem world. The old civilizations which lay one over the other, Phoenician, Hellenic, Roman, were jeopardized already by the Vandals and completely overthrown by the Moors. From Africa the Moors entered Spain. From Spain they entered Gaul. At Tours they were hurled back by Charles Martel. Only by the span between Tours and Vienna did the Moslems fail at one time or another to encircle the Mediterranean. By their mastery of the sea they once imperiled even the lands which lay within that span. The Moorish civilization has vanished. Intense Mohammedanism survives. Some Christian missionary work has been done in Morocco and Algiers by the French, none as yet in Tripoli by the Italians. Tunis and Algiers were long ago the scene of the labors of Raimundus Lullus, a native of Majorca, who, inspired by the example of St. Francis, became a missionary to Moslems. He labored to persuade the pope that the policy of the Crusades was anti-Christian. He spent years in prison in Africa and was twice deported. He returned to Bugia at the age of eighty to encourage his converts, and he was stoned to death by the mob. This was in 1315.

202. *The real Africa.*—With the exception of Egypt and the northern coast we shall mean when we speak of Africa that portion of the continent which lies south of the Sahara. It is the Africa whose coasts have been cursed with the slave trade. It is the Africa whose middle basin, lower than the mountains which fringe it, is the source of the great rivers, and whose dry table-land at the south with its riches in minerals is now the meeting-place of jealous nations. We shall mean the Africa which has been called almost until our own day the Dark Continent, the Africa of a large part of which the geographers of the Napoleonic era were as ignorant as Herodotus. We shall mean the Africa of the negro races and the pagan faiths. Describing it in these general terms we do not forget the multiplicity of its tribes with their different languages and their traditional animosities. Whether in the south for its wool and hides, its metals and precious stones, or in the equatorial basin for its rubber and ivory, its woods and slaves, Africa has tempted men of every nation to resort thither to make gain or to find adventure. The Africans themselves have in countless generations evolved no higher civilization of their own. They are the almost helpless prey of those who, while not all wholly indifferent to the welfare of the black man, have certainly not served God or the African for nought. They are the wards of protectorates whose main purpose has seemed at times to be to prevent rival European nations from enjoying the profits incidental to the protection afforded. Nevertheless, save by the havoc of the slave trade the Africans do not appear to have diminished in numbers or virility. They have

not, in the large, taken high place in the white man's civilization which is overrunning their land. The black man's adoption of the white man's religion has not yet carried him very far beyond the imitative stages of a rather crude experience. Individuals may be pointed to as exceptions to every statement here made. Yet the statements will be found descriptive of a situation which obtains with tragic uniformity amidst all the variety which Africa presents from Khartoum to the Cape and from Sierra Leone to Somaliland. There is no land of which we have to speak in which missionary work of whatever sort, medical, economic, social, educational, philanthropic, spiritual, is limited to such a monotonous level. At the same time it is divided into numberless fragments by geographical and political and lingual differences which are as yet unsurmountable.

203. *Beginnings of missionary work; Portuguese and Dutch.*—Against so gray a background, it is to be added that the earlier efforts at mission work almost tempt one's sense of humor, so inadequate were some of them and so sadly do others illustrate the spirit of their times. It is mainly within the last two generations, often within but one generation, that the work has reached such a level as to command enthusiasm and justify high hope. What we read of the coming of the Portuguese to the Congo in 1491 reflects largely the evil of the Europe of the time. The missionaries baptized the king of the Congo and many of his chiefs in great state. He commanded his subjects to abandon their idols upon pain of being burnt alive. Images of the saints were, however, offered to them to make

good their loss. The missionaries were Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians, and Jesuits. They quarreled among themselves so fiercely that the king sent them all home to Portugal in irons. A marble chair used to be shown standing against a pier of the cathedral at St. Paul de Loanda from which the bishops used to give their blessing to the slave ships as these sailed away with their precious cargo for Portuguese possessions in the West Indies and Brazil. Not widely different are the tales told of the Jesuit mission at Sofala, not far from Inhambane. In seven weeks after the arrival of the priests in 1560 the whole court had become subjects of the Kingdom of Heaven. Slaves and others were baptized, the Fathers presenting them with calico and beads if they would submit to the rite. The Dutch were at Cape Town in 1652. Their East India Company's charter made mention of the duty of instructing the children of the natives. Some governors made earnest with the injunction. The lives of many in the settlement were but poor illustration of the spirit of the gospel. The Company presently turned against all missionary endeavor. The Afrikander is to this day, even if himself devout, very harsh in his treatment of the black. The Moravians late in the eighteenth century came to Cape Colony to take up the work for which the Dutch establishment had shown no particular aptitude.

204. *British effort; African colonization.*—A Cambridge University magnate, dean of Christ College, Thomas Thompson, resigned his office in 1744 to undertake missionary work in New Jersey. Five years later he volunteered under the Society for the Propagation

to go to West Africa if the Society would support him out of its "Negro Conversion Fund." Thompson, on his return to England in 1772, published a pamphlet entitled *The African Trade for Negro Slaves Shown to Be Consistent with the Principles of Humanity and with the Laws of Revealed Religion.* It is evident that some in England were beginning even then to doubt these high-sounding propositions. Sierra Leone was bought by the African Company in 1790 and turned over to the British government in 1808 in order to form a settlement for negro soldiers who had fought on the side of Great Britain in the war for American independence and also for African slaves in British possessions who had been manumitted by their masters before slavery was abolished by act of Parliament. Methodism had been introduced into this colony by negroes who had been converted in Nova Scotia. Hardly less significant are the facts concerning Liberia. The colony originated in an effort made by the American Colonization Society, which had been formed in 1817 to transfer freed American negroes to West Africa. The total number of freedmen who came from America was about twenty thousand, all of whom were nominally Christian. Liberia was in 1847 declared an independent state. From a political and social standpoint little progress has been since achieved. The Liberians have endeavored to keep alive their Christianity and even to prosecute missionary work among the neighboring tribes. In this they have been aided by admirable work of the mission of the American Presbyterians, which has tactfully furnished to Liberian religious institutions the guidance which a longer tutelage under

the American republic might have given to their civil life. Robert Moffat, who was sent out by the London Missionary Society to Namaqualand in 1818, really inaugurated the modern era in African missions. In 1821 he went to Bechuanaland. In 1829 his first six converts were baptized. In 1837 he visited England to arrange for the printing of his Bechuana version of the New Testament. By 1857 he had completed the translation of the whole Bible. His description of his mission work is still a classic. It might have been written yesterday as a program of the most enlightened missionary endeavor. On the other hand, it is a picture of extraordinary vividness and insight of the Africa which has forever passed away. It was with Moffat that Livingstone spent his first years in Africa. It was Moffat's daughter whom Livingstone married. She died early, but Moffat lived until 1883, surviving his illustrious son-in-law by ten years and having seen many of the changes which have made the Africa that is to be. He was not a man of Livingstone's range of ability but was incomparable as a pioneer missionary.

205. *Exploration and discovery.*—Before this preliminary stage in the history of African missions was over the era of exploration and discovery had begun. Portuguese power on the coast of Africa waned fast during the seventeenth century. The Dutch were at Table Bay in 1652, while the English were content to take Saint Helena as their halfway house on the road to the farther East. The French used Madagascar for the same purpose. Cape Town was hardly more than a westerly outpost of the Dutch East Indies. The colonists, freed from any apprehension of European

trouble and leavened by Huguenot blood, gradually spread northward, stamping their language, law, and religion indelibly on South Africa. There is as good as no history of Africa during the eighteenth century, except the sinister history of the slave trade. The European nations were struggling for supremacy in Asia and America, not as yet in Africa. Commerce in gold, ivory, and spices was valuable, but the slave trade was more valuable than all other trades together. As the century drew to its close men's minds turned against the slave trade and there was a notable awakening of interest in Africa. A society, the African Association, was formed in London in 1788 for the exploration of the interior of the continent. This association was in 1831 merged in the Royal Geographical Society. Bruce had in the years 1770 to 1772 passed through Abyssinia and Sennar and determined the course of the Blue Nile. The Niger was first reached in 1795 by Mungo Park, who traveled by the way of Gambia. He failed to solve the question as to the mouth of the river. The first recorded crossing of Africa was accomplished between 1802 and 1811 by two Portuguese half-caste traders, Baptista and José, who passed from Angola eastward to the Zambesi. In the Napoleonic era Europe again lost interest in Africa or at least concentrated it upon Egypt. Before the end of that era England, in 1807, had declared the African slave trade illegal for British subjects. The trade was abolished by all other European powers before 1836. An expedition sent in 1816 to ascend the Congo was unable to get beyond the rapids. In 1823 Capperton reached Lake Chad from

Tripoli, the first white man to reach that inland sea. In 1841 a disastrous attempt was made to plant a white colony on the lower Niger. Nevertheless, British traders soon after acquired rights in the delta and annexed Lagos Island. Zanzibar, built on the island of that name by Seyyid Said of Muscat in 1832, rapidly gained importance. It became a new center for the Arab slave traders who now began to penetrate to the great lakes of East Central Africa.

The discovery by two missionaries, Rebmann and Krapf, in 1848–49, of the mountains of Kilimanjaro stimulated the desire of Europe for further knowledge. In 1849 Livingstone crossed the Kalahari Desert from the south to the north and reached Lake Ngami. Between 1851 and 1856 he traversed the continent from west to east, making known the great waterways of the Zambesi. While Livingstone circumnavigated Nyassa, the more northerly Lake Tanganyika had been visited by Burton and Speke and the latter had sighted Victoria Nyanza. Returning to East Africa with Grant in 1862, Speke reached the river which flowed from Nyanza and followed it down to Egypt. He had the distinction of being the first to read the riddle of the Nile. Between 1866 and 1873 Livingstone practically disappeared from the world. Stanley, sent out in 1871 by James Gordon Bennett, succeeded in finding Livingstone. Later, in the most memorable of all the exploring expeditions, striking inland to the Lulaba and following that river down to the Atlantic Ocean, Stanley proved that river to be the main body of the Congo. The Sahara and the Sudan had been traversed in many directions, between 1860 and 1875, by Rohlfs and

Schweinfurth and Nachtigal. In 1872 Selous began his journeys over South Central Africa, which continued more than twenty years and extended over every part of Mashonaland and Matabeleland. Even in 1865 the geographies marked vast areas in the interior of Africa as "unknown." By 1875 that designation had disappeared and the race of the powers to get possession of the rich territories which had thus been revealed was begun. It is difficult to realize that the Egyptians at Dendera and Thebes, the keen and curious Hallicarnassan who came to wonder at their greatness, Romans who honored Hadrian within the temple area at Luxor, Copts who built Christian churches out of stones taken from memorials of them all, Arabs in the frenzy of their conquering passion, from Omar to the Mahdi, all had lived under the glowing African sun, but the Africa which lay beyond the Cataracts was as much unknown to them as if it had been on some far star. Men are still living who can remember a time when almost all the great African discoveries were made, when year by year the magazines related their wonders, and the names of the adventurers who had unveiled the mystery were like household words.

206. *Livingstone.*—Turning to the history of missions, the characteristics of the earlier part of the modern period may almost be summed up in the career of David Livingstone. Livingstone was a great man. He would have taken a place in the life of the world no matter what career he had chosen or where his lot had been cast. Yet many others who worked in Africa before the turning-point in African affairs in 1875 did in their measure the same sort of work. David Livingstone

was born in 1813 at Blantyre in Scotland, of the stock which has so largely made the ministry of the Scottish churches what it has been. His home gave him his rectitude, his devoutness, and his taste for the intellectual life. It could give him little else. At ten years of age, with part of his first week's wages as a "piecer boy" at a loom, he bought a Latin grammar. He studied classics and botany and geology in the moments that he could save from work. At nineteen he resolved to be a medical missionary. He took courses at Glasgow but was not matriculated. He picked up as much of carpentry and other trades as possible. After his acceptance by the London Missionary Society in 1838 he studied theology, medicine, and science for two years in London. He took his medical degree at Glasgow and sailed for Cape Town in 1840, joining Moffat at Kuruman. He experienced the bitterness of the Boers against anyone who made the rights of the blacks his care. His little family suffered unceasingly from disease. He won that allegiance from the natives which manifested itself throughout his life. Driven from place to place by every misfortune he built up his stations like a master among men. His family returned to England for a period. Then began Livingstone's career as explorer and discoverer. Wherever he went his fame as friend and healer went before him. After his first long journey, which ended at St. Paul de Loanda on the west coast in 1853, he sent his scientific observations to Maclear, astronomer at the Cape, and his account of his journey to the Royal Geographical Society, which awarded him its highest honors. Maclear wrote: "You could go

to any point across the entire continent along Livingstone's track and be sure of your positions." He reached Quilimane on the Indian Ocean in May, 1856, four years after his departure from Cape Town, having traveled eleven thousand miles on foot through a wilderness never before traversed by civilized man. Few men have ever received greater honors than were accorded to Livingstone on his return to Great Britain in 1857. It was on this journey that the atrocities of the interior slave trade had so revealed themselves to him, and the obstacle which that trade presented to all religious or civilizing work in Central Africa had so impressed itself upon him that the question of its suppression "became the uppermost idea in his mind." He wrote: "I view the geographical exploration as the beginning of the missionary enterprise. I include in the latter term everything in the way of effort for the amelioration of our race."

He severed his connection with the London Missionary Society in 1858 and returned to Africa determined to carry on the war against the slave trade by every means in his power. He began to write the books which made him famous. How he found it possible to continue authorship in the conditions of his existence remains a mystery. When urged by Sir Roderick Murchison to relinquish missionary work and attend only to discovery he repeated the old reply: "I would not consent to go simply as a geographer but as a missionary and to do geography by the way." He had appointment from the British consul at Zanzibar in 1864 to go into the basin of the great lakes, a region of marvelous fertility but almost depopulated

by the slave raiders. Already long a victim of fever and dysentery, he experienced here one of the few cases of treachery on the part of the natives which he ever met. The record of those seven years until Stanley found him in 1871 is a record of such suffering and achievement as falls to the lot of few men. In 1873, at Bangweolo, still scorning any other issue of life than to be overtaken by death while at his work, he was found kneeling at his bed. He had died communing with the God who, save for his devoted negroes, had been his only companion for the most of a long and incredibly arduous life. His men embalmed his body as they could and carried it with his papers and instruments on their shoulders a year's journey to Zanzibar. Two of these faithful negroes who never before had passed beyond the wilderness stood by when their master was buried in the nave of Westminster Abbey, mourned by his nation and honored by a world. It was they who, when someone had raised a question as to the identity of the wasted corpse, suggested that his family identify the scars in his arm made by the teeth of a lion thirty-three years before.

207. *Uganda.*—Only typical examples can be taken for the brief narrative attempted in this book. Certainly the history of the Church Missionary Society's work in Uganda affords a striking illustration of the difficulties and also of the high success which have at times attended work in Africa. The country was first visited by Stanley, who in 1875 sent word to England that the king Mtesa was anxious to have missionaries enter his domain. Stanley's letter was intrusted to a Belgian named Bellefonds, who was subsequently mur-

dered by members of the Bari tribe. When his body was discovered Stanley's letter was found in the leg of his boot. It was forwarded to General Gordon at Khartoum. It was published in England and within a week the Church Missionary Society had taken up the challenge. Within two years of their departure from England two of the original party of eight had been massacred, two had died of disease, and two had been invalided home. Mtesa, at the time when Stanley talked with him, had declared himself a Mussulman. He greeted the Protestants kindly but afterward lent an ear to French Roman Catholic missionaries. Little progress was made in the Anglican work and in 1885 Mwanga, Mtesa's successor, began to persecute the Christians, both Anglicans and Roman with impartiality. Hannington, who had been appointed bishop of Uganda, approaching Mwanga's country by a route never before used, was murdered. Shortly thereafter many native Christians were tortured and burnt. Mackay, a Scotch engineer who was aiding in the work, carried the little community through its time of trial. Many lost their lives, many were mutilated, and more still banished. Mackay died in 1890. By that time the crisis was past. In fact, when in 1888 Mwanga undertook to renew the persecutions he was driven from his throne. The Mohammedans, taking advantage of the anarchic situation, placed Kalema, a son of Mtesa, on the throne and drove the Christians from the country. Mwanga by the aid of the Christians regained his place. He appealed to England for protection against the Arabs and native slave traders. General Lugard became his adviser. Ultimately there grew out

of this situation the Uganda protectorate, which was constituted in 1894. The little kingdom had peace and religious toleration. It began to be commercially important. The Christians increased by thousands. Pilkington was the main missionary figure of this era. He was aware of the danger involved in the phenomenal growth of the number of Christian adherents because of the favor of the authorities. In 1893 the foundation of a self-supporting Ugandan church was laid. A certain amount of clarification was wrought by the fact that in 1897 Mwanga had another of his temperamental relapses and undertook to throw off the protectorate. For a time it seemed likely that he would succeed, and the real Christians were separated from the others. Ultimately Mwanga was deposed but Pilkington was murdered in the disorders. When Bishop Tucker arrived in Uganda in 1890 the number of baptized Christians was scarcely two hundred. When he retired in 1913 the number had risen to ninety thousand and the adherents to half a million. The total population is reckoned at about four million. It is acknowledged that they belong to the best representatives of the Bantu race. In the Christian community there are as over against ninety-four missionaries, men and women, three thousand native workers. There is a printing press, a hospital, and a dispensary. There are fifty thousand boys and forty thousand girls in the mission schools where a generation ago few men and no women knew a letter of the alphabet or had an alphabet to know a letter of. Bishop Tucker, closing his years as canon of Durham Cathedral, can review almost the whole movement. He writes: "There is something

almost pathetic in the rushing of a quick, intelligent people through all the steps of civilization within the lifetime of a single generation. No people and certainly no African people could stand the shock of such an upheaval without serious loss." The Roman Catholic missions have also had extraordinary success among this impressionable people.

208. *Nigeria; Bishop Crowther.*—On the opposite side of the continent in the Lower Valley of the Niger the Church Missionary Society has sought for two generations to carry out the experiment of a mission as nearly as possible upon the responsibility of the Africans themselves. The endeavor accords so fully with the modern view that the history of the mission arouses more than usual interest. It must be said, however, that the reasons which led to this departure were at first not theoretical but practical. The climate was such that in those days, before the nature and manner of propagation of the fevers had been discovered, it had come to be a maxim that no white man could live in the country for more than two years. The English missions had entered the Yoruba country in 1846. The Basel Society had had representatives on the Gold Coast since 1824 and the English-Wesleyans since 1835, but the sacrifice of life had been appalling. When Dr. Schön and Samuel Crowther went up the river in 1841 forty-two white men out of one hundred and fifty died within two months. In 1843 the Church Missionary Society ordained Samuel Crowther, who had been a slave, and commissioned him to open a Niger mission of which the staff was to be composed of Africans. In 1864 Crowther was consecrated

bishop in Canterbury Cathedral. He remained bishop of the Niger until his death in 1891. It cannot be said that the experiment proved a success. Yet the failure proves little for the general thesis, because only under peculiar circumstances would such a church have been thrown upon its own resources at so early a stage of its development. Crowther, moreover, seems to have been indeed a humble and devout man of purity of character but not a leader and not a judge of men. The Lower Niger people, moreover, are of far less firmness of character than for example the Hausas, farther inland, among whom at present great progress is being made. It has been almost a maxim that the people of the coast regions, so long the prey of demoralizing contacts with the whites in their buying of slaves and selling of rum, are pitiably weak and grossly immoral as compared with the tribes of the interior. Crowther's confidence was too easily bestowed and often betrayed. He showed the mental arrest which has often been observed in men struggling up out of barbarous conditions. In his youth he was deemed exceptionally capable. In his maturity he made no progress. It is hardly necessary to say that Crowther's successor was an Englishman. The mission has gradually recovered. Indeed its present situation is far from unsatisfactory. Since 1890 the extension of this work among the Hausas at the north has been most promising. The population here was almost entirely Mohammedan. Medical work first gained their confidence. The Hausa language is the means of communication throughout the western Sudan. The men travel everywhere as traders. The adoption of Christianity by any larger number of

these people would be an event of greater significance than the growth of the church of the Niger delta is ever likely to be. The government schools all over Nigeria are upon the same basis with those of the Egyptian Sudan. There are many Moslem schools.

209. *The Congo.*—In the area which after Stanley's exploration became the Congo Free State missions have been largely those of the Roman Catholic church. The Belgian Foreign Missionary Society and the Order of the Sacred Heart are those most largely represented. Under the Leopoldine terror the position of the right-minded among the missionaries was difficult. Protestant missionaries furnished evidence against King Leopold and his company. Roman Catholics were apparently expected to support their country. One comes upon the trace of this corrupting relation of missions and colonial advance from time to time in many different places and by no means always in Roman Catholic colonies. The German national propaganda, so new and vigorous in Africa before the war, brought forth a whole literature of this sort which is staggering in its implications. In the Congo the case was so bad that the indignation of the Belgian people finally based itself upon the testimony of their own priests. It is a record honorable to both people and priests. On the other hand, it can hardly be surprising that the missions found it hard, after what the tribes had experienced, to win their confidence again. Stanley's call resulted also in the inauguration of Protestant work in the Congo. His presentation aroused great enthusiasm. No one dreamed of the horrible discrediting of Christendom which was coming. Small as is the Protestant

church in Belgium, it established a mission in the Congo. Various English and American societies took part in the movement, some of them lamentably ill-fitted for the task. The Congo Inland Mission, so named by Grattan Guinness, had little fitness for the task beyond its enthusiasm. The American Baptist Missionary Union endeavored to save the fragments. In the French Congo again the Roman missions have been the natural instrumentality of evangelization. France assumed the protectorate in 1906 although French influence had been dominant here since 1841. The total number of Christians connected with the missions is small. The French Protestants are not numerous, yet the Paris Society representing the old Huguenot church has a mission here to which the American Presbyterians handed over in 1906 the work which they had been doing for two generations in the Gabun. One of the most brilliant of modern New Testament scholars, Albert Schweitzer, author of *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*, inaugurated an independent mission here in 1914.

210. *South Africa.*—In South Africa we have already touched upon the work of Moffat and Livingstone. The expansion of British interests since the Kaffir wars and more particularly since the Boer War made it natural that the Anglican church should take a leading place in missionary work in all that complex of territories which even before the Great War were amalgamated into one vast British Empire in Africa. The Union of South Africa, which was constituted by act of Parliament in 1909, alone combines the old colonies of the Cape of Good Hope and Natal with the former

Dutch republics, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. To these one must add Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Rhodesia, and Swaziland. The old colonial bishoprics, with the missionary bishoprics added, now number ten. They are varied in character. Some of them minister almost exclusively to Africans. The foreign missionary problem is in the way of becoming to a certain extent a domestic problem of the Empire of South Africa, just as the now vanishing problem of certain North American Indians became the problem of Christians of the United States and Canada. Yet it will be long before the connection with Britain itself and with other parts of the world in which missionary work for African natives began will altogether cease. Certain phases of missions, as for example medical work, are in the great centers of population no longer necessary. On the other hand, educational work is almost as necessary as ever because discrimination against the negro is, despite all efforts of the government, everywhere to be reckoned with. The problem approximates more and more to the problem of society and of the churches in dealing with the negro in the southern states of the American Union. All the phenomena which we meet in this country are met in South Africa and others besides. The freedom of the negro, not merely his deliverance from actual slavery but the extension to him of privileges which the Empire since the Boer War is inclined gradually to accord, has the same effect upon some of the negroes in South Africa that it has had in the Black Belt. A portion of the white population is subject to the same guilty prejudices and the same strange oscillations in sentiment.

It is extraordinarily difficult to say how far a negro Christendom is being developed in what is rapidly becoming the white man's Africa. Statistics are not difficult to obtain, but statistics are the least part of the question. Negroes from all over Africa come to a great city like Johannesburg, but the number of negroes does not make it any the less a white man's town. The negroes have broken the connections which they had before they left the habitat of their tribe. It is a chance if they have formed new connections of any sort. More and more there is demand for leadership from among their own race if they are not always to remain in industrial servitude. More and more, nevertheless, education and indeed the gospel must assume the task of making the tribesmen industrially fit. It seems as if one war against slavery in Africa had been practically ended only to mark the beginning of another. One problem of the missionary and of all his confrères was to bring civilization to the native of Africa. The next problem is to protect the native against the civilization which has been brought.

South Africa is therefore full of missionaries. Their life and work must present the characteristics of those who work for the submerged tenth in any mining or industrial region or great city in Christendom. Only in South Africa it is a great deal more than a tenth which is submerged and a tenth which somehow had a right not to be submerged in a civilization in which they have never had a moment's chance to ride on the crest of the wave. If the problem of missions in Uganda is difficult it is at least defined. In South Africa almost everywhere it is more difficult because

it is indefinable. Compared with the vast and varied need mission instrumentalities sink into insignificance, although they are lavishly sustained by the Anglican church and almost every ecclesiastical body in the British Isles, with much loyal support from the outside world. There are some senses in which it is best that the boundaries of the negro problem should fade away in the greater problem of South African society in general and that the negro should not be singled out as the only one to whom missions are sent. It may be that Africa will never be really Christianized until it is Christianized by Africans. Whether, then, the African Christians who arise out of the un-Christian welter in South Africa will be the most efficient, or whether it will be those rather whose contacts, like those of the Ugandans or the North Nigerians, have been as yet relatively purer, or whether we may set hope in some far day on Africans from the black belt in America, from Hampton and Tuskegee, would be an interesting question. Africans who have come up in a place like Jamaica, in contact with the purity of the Moravian tradition and with the best tutelage of the English and Scottish churches, have certainly furnished the most promising material thus far.

211. *Industrial education; Lovedale.*—It is evident that industrial education must play a great part at present in African missions. It is likely to preponderate over every other aspect of education offered by missions and indeed of that offered by the governments as well. Industrial education is, however, one of the newest phases of education to attain any scientific development. Institutions like Hampton and Tuskegee

for the negroes in America have grown up mainly within the last generation. It is the more striking, therefore, that in one mission, that of the United Free Church of Scotland at Lovedale, a work of this sort has been carried on for a much longer period. It has had in the personality and career of Dr. James Stewart a force of primary significance. The Glasgow Missionary Society sent out, in 1820, Rev. W. R. Thompson, who joined a representative of the London Missionary Society settled in Kaffraria. They founded the station at Lovedale in 1824. From the first the training of natives in crafts and trades was felt to be fundamental in any effort for their uplifting. When the Free Church of Scotland was formed in 1843 it took over the work of the Glasgow Society. After 1851 the Lovedale schools received government grants because of the nature of their work. Stewart became principal in 1867, the very year of the inauguration of Armstrong's work at Hampton in Virginia. He continued for forty years at the head of the institution. More significant even than the government grants have been the substantial fees which the students have been able to pay or to repay for their instruction. Pupils come from practically every tribe in South Africa and Rhodesia and from missions of many different denominations. So attractive are the opportunities that Europeans have sought admission to the school. This is the more remarkable because the cleft between the whites and the African laborer is very deep. Employers even refuse to hire white laborers because of the difficulties which arise. Everything tends to keep the black in his position as laborer in a measure that constitutes one of the grave problems of the future.

212. *The French in South Africa and Madagascar.*— One striking piece of work in South Africa deserves still to be mentioned. It is that of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Soceity among the Hottentots at Wellington and at Kuruman. The French Protestants entered upon this work in 1829. By 1850 eleven stations had been occupied among the Basutos. In 1858 François Coillard joined the staff of this mission, one of the most devoted and successful of all who have worked in South Africa. Despite frequent interruptions of the work in the course of the wars between the Basutos and the Boers the mission made progress. In 1884 a number of Christians from Basutoland established a mission among the Barotsi in the neighborhood of the Zambesi. Coillard was the leader of this movement. So degraded were the Barotsi that Coillard declared that it took twenty years of labor to bring the Barotsi up to the level which the Basutos occupied when the French arrived. Coillard, who died in 1904, most solemnly bequeathed this work to the churches of France.

Mention of this society leads us to speak in this place of Madagascar. Protestant missionary work had begun in the island as early as 1818 under the London Missionary Society. It was prosecuted after 1862 with some success by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. French priests accompanied the French government expedition to Madagascar in 1845. After 1861 the Roman Catholic mission was established in Tamatave. A protectorate of France over Madagascar was recognized by Great Britain in 1890 and the island became a French possession in 1896. The French

Protestants entered in that year. In view of that event the two English societies asked the Paris Missionary Society to take over their work. The government required that all scholars in the mission schools should be taught in French. Preaching, when not in the vernacular, was to be in French. The Huguenot church in France was of limited resource. Unless help were at hand from Great Britain and America it could not prosecute the work. The Madagascar church had endured persecutions comparable with those of the Japanese Christians in the seventeenth or of the Koreans in the nineteenth century. The native government had been fiercely hostile to Christians. The French authority which succeeded it was more than indifferent.

213. *German missions.*—Allusion has been made to various German societies which have worked in parts of Africa. The missions of the Moravians are always to be spoken of with reverence. The Basel mission, Swiss indeed in origin but which has always had supporters in Germany, began in 1824 a work among the Tanti. The best known of its missionaries, Christaller, gave himself to Bible translation. The mission now extends from Ashanti to the river Volta. It has organized industrial work upon a considerable scale, being aided by a special missionary trading society. In this it has followed the Moravians, who have often benefited their adherents and aided in the support of their work by entering into commercial relations sustaining co-operative stores. The North German Mission, often called the Bremen Society, inaugurated work among the Evhe people in 1847. It was, however, a work of very limited extent until the Germans took

over Togoland as a colony in 1894. This was a tiny colony between the British Gold Coast and French Dahomey. In it, however, vigorous work has been done by both Protestant and Roman Catholic missions. Similarly, the Basel mission and the Gossner Mission have had measurably successful work in the Kamerun. The English Baptists had begun here in 1845 a work which the Basel mission took over in 1884, when the German Empire acquired possession of the colony. The Germans had demanded that the work be conducted by German-speaking missionaries, if possible by those of German birth. This demand was general in the German colonial possessions throughout the world. By far the most significant territory in the west belonging to this government before the war was German Southwest Africa. Its population is partly Bantu and partly Hottentot. The colony was the only possession of Germany in Africa of which the climate is suitable for white men. It came into German possession in 1884, but they fought a bitter war with the Hereros in 1904–7 which cost the lives of almost half the Herero people. In German East Africa, as it was before the war, there was a numerous population, ten million according to the current estimate. The Anglican Universities mission to Central Africa and the Church Missionary Society had been in the field long before the German occupation. Before the Great War their work had been much reduced. On the other hand, since 1890 the Bielefeld Mission, the Berlin Society, and the Evangelical Lutheran Mission of Leipzig have greatly enlarged their work. Three Roman Catholic societies were also in the colony at the outbreak of the war.

The future of the German missions is closely involved with the question of the fate of the German colonies in Africa after the war. No people have found it so difficult to work under any flag but their own, or, rather, have felt that it was so necessary that their flag should come to the aid of their mission work—again excepting the Moravians.

214. *The partition of Africa.*—After 1875 the continent of Africa became the theater of the expansion of Europe. Lines of partition drawn often through trackless wilderness marked out the possessions of Great Britain, France, Germany, and other powers. Railways penetrated the interior. Vast areas were opened up to civilized occupation. Until 1875 the only powers in any way interested in African possessions were Great Britain, Portugal, and France. Their possessions covered, however, but a small proportion of the continent, and Great Britain at least had been positively averse to the enlargement of her possessions. Germany, strong and united as the result of the Franco-Prussian War, was seeking new outlets for her energies, new markets for her growing industries, new sources of raw materials. Yet the idea of colonial expansion was of slow growth in imperial Germany. When Bismarck finally acted in the middle of the decade of the eighties, Africa was practically the only open field. France also after the war of 1870 felt the need of new territories to aid her in an industrial expansion by which she was to make good the losses suffered in the war. The entrance of Belgium as a new competitor in the area of colonial expansion after the revelations of Stanley concerning the Congo precipitated the general rivalry which

has not yet seen its end. Portugal naturally desired to retain as much as possible of her nominal empire inherited from the old days of vigorous trade. She is, however, poor in men and money. Great Britain, once she was aroused to the reality of competition in an area where she had been thus far without a serious rival, was prepared to put forth vigorous effort in the south and west. The great dream which took possession of her imagination was to establish an unbroken line of British possessions or spheres of influence from the Cape to Cairo. French ambitions, apart from Madagascar, had been confined to the northern and central portions of the continent. Now they aspired to establish a belt of territory stretching across the continent from Senegal to the Gulf of Aden. Great Britain, through the campaigns by which she won and held the Egyptian Sudan, defeated this hope of France. German East Africa, extending as it does from the Zanzibar Channel to the Congo, defeated, or at all events postponed, the corresponding ambition of the British. King Leopold's ambitions have been already indicated. At first he sought through the establishment of an International African Association, whose center was at Brussels, to put the exploitation of Africa upon an international footing. It was not until 1885 and after years in which the powers, particularly Belgium and France, had come uncomfortably near to conflict one with another, that the king formally assumed the headship of the new Congo State. A Bremen merchant purchased from a native chief a considerable concession near Lüderitzbucht in Southwest Africa. The German government assumed the

protection of its own subjects within that area. Commercial companies began to be formed in Germany for African trade. The mind of the nation changed swiftly. The German flag was raised in 1884 on the coast opposite Zanzibar and a beginning made of the colony of German East Africa, which proved, in the Great War, the most defensible of the German possessions in Africa. For while the attention of the world has been centered on the western front, on the Russian line, on the Dardanelles, or in Siberia, Great Britain, Belgium, Portugal, and France have fought with Germany for the future in Africa.

215. *The outlook.*—It has seemed necessary to write these few lines concerning the partitionment of Africa in order to intimate the nature of that phase of the development of the continent which followed upon the period of exploration and discovery. There has been exploration since 1875, some of it of a very avid sort. There have been discoveries of materials and commodities of incalculable value, like those in the Rand. It has all been in the service of the colonial expansion of competing European powers. The characteristic of the history of these forty years has been the effort at the establishment of overseas empires to be added, as in the case of England, to vast territories already possessed or, as in the case of Belgium and Germany and Italy, to correspond to a new significance, political or industrial, which these nations had acquired within these years. If missions in Africa were affected by the era of discovery, the fifty years prior to 1875, they have been far more profoundly influenced by the era of European expansion and African partitionment which followed.

In India, China, or Japan the secular movement of conquest and trade preceded the era of philanthropy and religious propaganda. In large parts of Africa the reverse was the case. Africa was opened after the humanitarian and religious revival in Europe and America. The opening of the continent was in no small part achieved by missionaries like Livingstone, who, traversing its wilds, were able to say as truly as Paul ever said, "I seek not yours but you." General Gordon was a knightly character, but he was a trial to soldiers and statesmen. He was right, however, that it was a high enterprise to rescue the Sudan from the Mahdi and the Khalifa and establish a base from which the war upon the slave trade could be prosecuted. Stanley's letters and books breathed the spirit of consecration to the best interest of the peoples of the Congo. They were read the world over. The life and death of Livingstone had given to Stanley's appeal something of the glamor which Gordon's fate achieved for the other region spoken of. The early conferences concerning the Congo were inspired by high idealism. It was the African race which was to be benefited. These things are true despite the fact that the Leopoldine debauch in the Congo presented, before many years elapsed, a revolting contrast to these hopes. On the other hand, missions have been conducted now for many years in Africa against a background of wars of various powers upon the natives. They have been conducted against the background of intrigue and bad relations among the European powers themselves which could not be concealed from the natives. Missions are now being conducted and must in the future be

conducted against the background of a war the most pitiless which the human race has suffered, characterized at times by a barbarity of which the darkest of the denizens of the Dark Continent were not civilized enough to dream. Even before the war the industrial warfare which peace had become was felt in all its rigor in many parts of Africa. By none was it felt with greater severity than by the Africans who were everywhere the hewers of wood and drawers of water in this new industrial crisis which had descended in one generation upon a continent undisturbed since time began.

Few would feel that because these things are so the African should have been left for ages to come exactly as he has been in ages past. Few would allege that the best that the races of high civilization could do for the African would be to let him alone. Few would hold that the immeasurable riches of such a continent as Africa, of which the Africans have made such limited use, are not for the benefit of all mankind when the race as a whole comes to need them. It is easy to wax eloquent about the wrongs which have always characterized the spread of the white man's civilization. There is superabundant material at hand for those who would speak to this theme. It is not so easy soberly to maintain the thesis that it would have been better if it had never spread. With all of its monstrous evils, what we call civilization contains goods as well. These goods have been evolved by the sweat and blood of ages for the benefit not of one continent alone but for the advantage of all mankind. It is these goods for which the healer, the educator, the missionary of religion

stands. It is these which he proposes to give to the African along with all else that is given and in place of all that is taken away. This is the warrant of missions. The old paganism which has passed for religion in Africa, the horrible superstition and fear, cannot live with the new civilization which is spreading over Africa, trifling as any deeper achievements of that civilization for the African himself have yet been. No one can wonder at the appeal which Islam makes to him. If we think that Christianity should appeal to him still more, it is for us to bring Christianity to him. The gospel which has been the refuge of the poor and oppressed should have something to say to the African, although we should be the last to lay unction to our souls—we have had so much to do with his poverty and his oppression. The gospel which has had so much to do with the building up of the character of the great races should have something to do for his race. It will apparently be a long time before he can be a citizen of this world on an equal footing with others even on his own continent. There is the more reason why we should give ourselves to make that time shorter. There is only one way in which it can be made shorter—by the development of the character and intelligence and opportunity of the African.

CHAPTER XII

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216. *The coming of the Spaniards.*—The tradition that the Christian faith reached the shores of North America from Iceland and Greenland at the end of the tenth century is of uncertain value. Norse missions, if there were such, left no trace. Priests accompanied Columbus on his second voyage and inaugurated mission work among the natives of the islands, besides caring for the religious interests of the adventurers. The papal bull which assigned the West to Spain as it gave the East to Portugal contemplated conquests for the cross and gains for the church as well as increase of territory and of revenue for the crowns of the nations concerned. There is unfortunately no doubt as to the violence and perfidy with which the conquest of the islands and later of Mexico and Peru was carried out. On the other hand, there is evidence of humane and devout remonstrance on behalf of the helpless peoples as well as of the self-sacrifice of priests and members of the orders who sought their welfare.

217. *Organization of the church; Las Casas.*—The Spanish mission work was at first under the jurisdiction of the see of Seville. A bishopric of Hispaniola (San Domingo) was established in 1512. There was a bishopric at Santiago de Cuba in 1522 and one at the city of Mexico in 1530. Shrines of the Aztecs were turned into places of Christian ceremonial in the very moment of conquest. The palace of the Incas was given by Pizarro

to the priests who accompanied him for their use as a church while the ruins of the ancient capital were still smoking. The figure of Bartholomew las Casas stands out in relief against a dark background. He was born in Seville in 1474. He underwent a great renewal in religious experience when already embarked on his life-work. In one of his periods of distress he took refuge in a Dominican cloister and received the tonsure. Charles V held him in profound respect. He lived to the age of ninety-two and won for himself the title of Universal Protector of the Indians. He spent his long life in pioneering and again in administrative work in his various mission fields. He made fourteen voyages to Europe, seeking redress for the evils of which his protégés were made the victims and advocating legislation, both civil and ecclesiastical, for the amelioration of their lot. To this day it is difficult to find the balance between the enthusiastic praises of his followers and the calumnies and misrepresentations to which he was subjected. Historians are, however, fairly well agreed that the charge made later, that it was he who in his effort to mitigate the lot of his Indians introduced African slavery into America, is not well founded.

218. *Mexico.*—Hernando Cortes sailing from Santiago de Cuba in 1518 founded Vera Cruz and made it the base of his operations for the conquest of the empire of Montezuma. The smallness of the forces at his disposal with the swift success which he achieved shows how slight must have been the resistance which the Mexicans were able to offer. Romance has gathered about the fall of the Aztec Empire. It has made of Cortes first a hero and then a tyrant of unspeakable

cruelty. He was a typical adventurer in whom many of the characteristics of the men of the Renaissance came to expression. It must be said, however, that he organized the province which Charles V committed to him with consummate ability. The church supplemented the labors of the conqueror. The first Franciscan mission arrived in the city of Mexico in 1524. The University of Mexico was founded in 1553. It is thus nearly eighty years older than Harvard. The Jesuits were established in Mexico in 1572, devoting themselves to the education both of whites and of natives. The power of the church may be judged from a petition which was sent to Philip IV in 1644 asking him to forbid the increase of the religious houses which already held half the property of the country, to suspend ordinations because there were six thousand unemployed priests, and to suppress feast days because there were at least two every week. One gets the impression that the Indians were an economic factor of importance in this prosperity of the church in Mexico.

219. *South America.*—The example of Cortes in the conquest of Mexico fired the ambition of Pizarro. In 1524 he set out from Panama. Before 1535 he had completed the conquest of Peru. From Peru the Spaniards extended their empire into Chile before 1553. Thence they crossed the southern Andes into the great plains which form the interior of the Argentine Republic and made the first settlement at the mouth of the Plata, Buenos Aires, in 1580. Brazil, on the other hand, after a period of exploration which began in 1510, was finally settled by the Portuguese. The Portuguese settlement was more purely colonial than any Spanish settlement in

South America. There were two centers of government, one at Rio de Janeiro and one at Bahia. There was in Spain and notably in Portugal after the middle of the eighteenth century a rational and liberal movement which showed itself in the attitude of both these countries toward the Jesuits, whose charter was revoked by the pope in 1773. Paraguay expelled the Jesuits as early as 1769. When the settlements in Mexico and Central and South America began to feel the contagion of the spirit which was abroad in the world after 1789, the monarchies of Spain and Portugal were disposed to make no concessions, although neither of them had an intelligible colonial policy.

It was, however, the subjection of Spain and Portugal to Napoleon after the Peninsular War which emphasized to the South American colonies the necessity of caring for their own interests. The struggle for independence lasted from 1810 to 1826. The great career was that of Simon Bolivar, who had a share in the liberation of Colombia and Peru, of Venezuela and Bolivia, which last bears his name. Mexico won its independence in 1820, Peru in 1822, Brazil in the same year. Mexico and Brazil, however, retained monarchical forms of government, the former until 1867, the latter until 1889. All of these Latin-American countries have lain, however, until very recent years, to one side of the great stream of the economic and social life of the modern world. In still greater measure are they retarded in their religious development. The Congregationalists and Baptists of the United States have missions in Mexico, the Presbyterians and the Southern Methodists in Brazil. The missionary society of the Protestant Episcopal Church

of America has work in Brazil. There is not as yet opportunity to co-operate in any closer way with the Roman church. Governments have frequently been favorable to the entrance of the Protestants. Indeed in all these countries, as also in the Philippines, there are considerable elements which have long since broken with the Roman church besides those who never had any such relation. Closer contacts with South America in the immediate future will assuredly bring expansion of religious work.

220. *Florida, New Mexico, and Arizona.*—Ponce de Leon's letters to Charles V show that in his proposed settlements in Florida he had in mind conquests for the cross. Ayllon carried the Spanish arms as far north as the shores of Chesapeake Bay. De Soto carried the same banner westward to the mouth of the Mississippi. It was not until 1565 that the Spaniards under Menendez won the victory over the French near St. Augustine which gave them permanent possession of the peninsula. From this settlement went out missions mainly in the hands of the Franciscans. They met with varying success at many points along the coast. They seem never to have penetrated far inland. One hears of the translation of religious books, of the establishment of schools, and of the effort to keep out the white settlers because their influence was unfavorable to the work. After the peninsula was taken away from Spain and accorded to the British by the Peace of Utrecht the missions declined. There were great migrations of the Indians into the interior at this time. In 1542 Mendoza, the viceroy of New Spain in the city of Mexico, sent out an expedition into what is now the state of New Mexico to find the

great and rich cities, rumors of which had floated to the Spaniards. Those rumors are now supposed to have referred to the pueblos of the Zuni Indians. Fame had described them as more glorious than the cities of the Orient. Coronado led the expedition. Three priests and one lay brother accompanied him. Coronado returned to Mexico bitterly disappointed. Two of the priests and the lay brother remained behind to preach the gospel to the natives. One of them was significantly named John of the Cross. Nothing more was ever heard of him or of the lay brother. In 1581 a prosperous beginning of missionary work was made near Albuquerque. By 1608 there had been eight thousand baptisms, and Santa Fe had become the center of Spanish dominion and missionary endeavor. After 1650 the hostility of the powerful tribes from the North made itself felt. Many converts lapsed. In 1680 there was a rebellion. Churches and convents were burned. The chief medicine man who had led the rebellion forbade the naming of Jesus and demanded that baptismal names be dropped and the estufas be opened again for the old ceremonies. In 1700 Spanish rule was re-established. But the missions never recovered their former prosperity.

221. *California.*—Lower California seems to have been visited from Mexico as early as 1536. In 1542 Cabrillo reached the site of Monterey. In 1602 Vizcaino sailed from Acapulco with three vessels, seeking a suitable port in which vessels coming from the Philippines might refit. He discovered San Diego. Carmelite friars who were with him erected a chapel on the shore. The fleet continued its voyage to the north as far as Cape Mendocino. Vizcaino, however, failed to find the harbor

of San Francisco and despaired of reaching the waterway which he was convinced would lead him back by the way of the north to the Atlantic. In 1728 Vitus Behring in the service of Russia had sailed through the straits that bear his name and proved that the continent discovered by Columbus was separate from Asia. In 1741 he reached Alaska and claimed for Russia a portion of America of unknown size and wealth. Orders came from Spain to Mexico to resume the efforts at exploration and settlement along what is now the California coast. The military leader was José de Galves. With him co-operated Father Junipero Serra, the superior of the missions in lower California, who presently gave up his post in order to identify himself with the new work. The zeal of Father Junipero, who from 1769 until his death in 1784 was the head of the mission affairs, earned for him a reputation for both ability and saintliness. The missions were dependent on military protection. They were part of the state system and often had difficulties with the military authorities upon questions touching their supplies. At the same time they were obliged to separate themselves from the garrisons and civil population to avoid demoralization. The whole discipline of the missions tended to keep the Indians children. They were indeed practically serfs attached to the soil. Much good was done but little independence of character developed. The three most northern missions, San Juan Capistrano, Santa Clara, and San Francisco, were opened in 1775 and 1777. Serra died in 1784 and the period of the greatest prosperity of the California missions seems to have ended before 1813. Most of the friars returned to Mexico.

222. *The French in North America.*—It was the French who played the great rôle in the opening of the northern part of the North American continent, although it was to the British that the burden and glory of the development of that continent later fell. French explorers and adventurers and fur traders opened the way and Jesuits were almost everywhere in the early period responsible for the missions. John Cabot, when he touched Cape Breton Island in 1497, was in the service of the English. Breton and Norman and Basque fishermen resorted to these coasts continually after Denis of Honfleur had explored the Gulf of St. Lawrence in 1506. It was Francis I, the rival in so many other ways of the emperor Charles V, who planned to give France her share in the exploiting of the transatlantic world. Jacques Cartier, a native of St. Malo, in 1534 ascended the St. Lawrence as far as Anticosti. On a second voyage, in 1535, he sailed past Quebec and reached the great Indian village of Hochelaga, behind which rose the hill which ultimately gave name to Montreal. A vigorous climate, a savage people, a soil destitute of gold and at that time even of grain, a country rich only in timber and fish and furs, these were the prospects first held out to the adventurers. Yet the Sieur de Roberval was anxious to colonize the land. Cartier was chosen for the task. The plan failed and Cartier returned to France in 1542. In the king patent the region had been called "the extremity of Asia toward the West." Sixty years passed and the wars of religion in France had been brought to an end by Henry IV before the French succeeded in establishing a colony in the New World. Samuel de Champlain made his first voyage in 1603.

His patron, Pierre du Guast, claimed the country from Montreal to Philadelphia and named it Acadia. The colony which created New France in America was destined, however, to be on the great river. It was Champlain who laid its foundations on the rocky eminence of Quebec in 1608. A company of merchants held a monopoly of the fur trade and Quebec was to be the point of departure for a business which in its nature carried its representatives into the wide regions of the North and West and South. In 1614 four Recollect Fathers, Franciscans, came to New France to minister to the settlers and to inaugurate a mission among the Indians. In 1625 the first Jesuits came to the aid of the Recollects. Soldiers, traders, priests, were thus the elements of the population. In 1644 Montreal was founded by Maisonneuve.

223. *Height of the French power and beginning of its decline.*—Champlain had ascended the St. Lawrence to Ottawa and crossed thence by portage and the French River to Lake Huron, whence the way was easy to the western end of Lake Superior and also to the southern end of Lake Michigan. Not far from either of these points again were sources of streams which flowed into the Mississippi. It was not until after Frontenac had beaten the Iroquois that the other route by way of Lake Ontario, Lake Erie, and Detroit was opened and La Salle could locate his continuous line of posts from the Straits of Belle Isle to the Gulf of Mexico. There is scarcely any more wonderful story of adventure than this of the French occupation of the St. Lawrence, of the Great Lakes, and of the Valley of the Mississippi. The French names on the map mark what was once

a continuous route of trading posts with their missions from Cape Race to New Orleans. Nicollet, Radisson, Joliet, and Duluth are figures never to be forgotten. Père Marquette and Hennepin were not behind those others in adventurous spirit or devotion. Greatest of all was La Salle, who between 1676 and 1687 carried the empire of France from the headwaters of the Mississippi to the Gulf. The history of the decline of the French power in America is almost as great a romance as is the tale of its acquisition. Mistakes had been made in the development of New France. There was far less of atrocious cruelty on the part of the French toward the natives than there had been on the part of the Spaniards toward the aborigines at the South. But the hardier tribes of the North resented more fiercely such cruelty as there was. There never had been outside of what is now the province of Quebec much of that kind of permanent settlement which made the English seaboard settlements great. Experience proved that neither upon conquest like that of the Spaniards nor upon wandering trade like that of the French can an empire be built. It was only upon the transfer of families and social traditions, upon the reproduction of essential racial and civil institutions, within the new area that a colonial empire could have permanence. The decay of the Bourbon monarchy, the preoccupation of the bureaucracy of France with its privileges and vices in the eighteenth century, left New France, as indeed it also left the French empire in India, without the support which it should have had. Montcalm, who had cried in vain for help, was already heartbroken when he fell on the Plains of Abraham in 1759. New France fell with him.

224. *The Jesuit missions to the North American Indians.*—The real history of the great Jesuit missions in North America begins after the treaty of St. Germain in 1632. The most famous centers were that on Cape Breton Island for the Miami Indians and that at Tadousac for the tribes of the lower St. Lawrence. For the mission among the Algonquins, Sillery was the point of departure. The Algonquins were, however, almost exterminated in wars with the hostile tribes. Beyond Montreal was the mission to the Nipissings and the great Huron mission, the scene of the most arduous and continued labors of the Fathers among the Wyandottes and other tribes. Then there were the Ottawa missions, which represented effort to Christianize the Chippeways and the Crees. Farther south were the centers for the work among the Miamis and the Illinois. At Sillery was made one of the most patient and characteristic efforts to build up a settled Christian community of Indians. The precarious mode of life, the rapid diminution of game when the whites began to kill the animals for their furs, the diseases of the white man, and the wars of the Iroquois threatened to wipe out the less savage tribes unless a new order of existence was introduced. The Indians formed a sort of government, the Fathers opened schools, the Ursuline Sisters opened a hospital. The welfare of the community was to be based upon agriculture. Some progress was made, converts like Negabamat exerting great influence, yet the work languished after a few years and disappeared altogether after 1657. Chaumonot and Dablon and Le Mague were the great emissaries to whom the perilous work among the Five Nations was committed. The liquor

which was sold without check at Albany made drunkenness prevalent among the Indians. Degraded men thus became tools of the medicine men who, clinging to the old belief, rallied around them the pagan party. The wars of the English upon the Iroquois from the south and of the French from the north completed the work, and the Iroquois mission was abandoned after 1708. Yet Christian Iroquois were later found both at Montreal and in Pennsylvania.

225. *Decline of the Jesuit missions.*—The great figures in the Ottawa Mission are without doubt the fathers Marquette and Hennepin. Allouez had preceded them, establishing missions on the northern shore of Lake Superior and beginning work among the Sioux. Marquette, setting out in 1673 from Mackinac with Louis Joliet, ascended the Fox River and reaching the Wisconsin by portage thus entered the Mississippi. This river they descended as far as the mouth of the Arkansas. Returning by way of the Illinois River, Marquette founded a mission for the Kaskaskias but died before he could reach again his beloved chapel at Mackinac. Marquette was fully as much explorer and adventurer as priest, yet his heart was ever in his work for the red man. The love in which he was held was evidenced by the fact that the year after his death, in 1675, some Ottawa Indians who had been of his flock unearthed his bones and carried them to Mackinac, where they buried them under the floor of his little shrine. Canada fell to England and Louisiana to Spain after 1763. Then came the dissolution of the Society of Jesus in 1773. Before the restoration of the Society by Pius VII in 1814 the whole face of America had changed.

The record of the Jesuit missionaries is a chapter of American history full of personal devotion. None can withhold homage from men like those whose names we have mentioned. Men of cultivation and often of station gave up all that civilized life can offer to share the precarious life of wandering savages. Both the Spanish and the French missions failed because, although in different ways and for different reasons, they were unable to establish stable religious communities of the natives to whose representatives in due time the management of affairs could be passed over. Such a system of religious and social order, if it could have been achieved, might have saved the Indians of the St. Lawrence Valley and Upper Canada, where the white population is to this day very sparse. One speaks with reserve of failure, however, when one reflects upon an episode like the following, which doubtless could be duplicated many times over in the experience of any traveler who knows the northern wilderness. In 1905 a Cree Indian came out on the Labrador coast, having traveled on foot all the way from Georges Bay to buy ammunition. A traveler noticed that he wore a crucifix and presently heard the man speak French. The Indian when questioned declared that his ancestors had always been Christians. There had never been a time when there were not French priests in the villages of his tribe. It is probable that that statement is true for at least two hundred and fifty years.

226. *British settlements in North America.*—We have seen that the English had their part in the work of the early adventurers and discoverers. There were few years after Cabot's memorable voyage in 1497 when

fishermen did not go to the Newfoundland shores. By 1527 the little Devonshire fishing craft proved unable to carry home their catch and large merchant vessels were employed. An act of 1541 classed the Newfoundland trade among the sources of wealth of the British Isles. In 1583 Sir Humphrey Gilbert received letters of patent from Queen Elizabeth to plant a colony upon the Newfoundland shores. Between 1586 and 1603 Sir Walter Raleigh made repeated efforts to establish a colony in the wide territory named Virginia in honor of the Queen. The Virginia Company, however, made its first permanent settlement at Jamestown in 1607. In 1620 there was made a settlement of a very different order. A small body of religious dissidents, including some who had previously migrated to Holland to escape the discipline of the established church, landed at Plymouth, Massachusetts. They had obtained permission from the Virginia Company to settle within the lands which the company claimed. Later they received a patent from the council for New England. The compact which they signed in the cabin of their vessel is esteemed one of the epoch-making documents in the history of civil government. They were followed eight years later by other settlers of the Puritan mind, yet not so hostile to the Church of England or the government of the king as the Pilgrims had been. These settled at Salem and Boston. These settlements reflected the convictions, both religious and political, of many Englishmen of that era. Members of these communities returned to England and influenced the course of events under the Long Parliament and the Commonwealth. Thus Massachusetts and Virginia became the two centers

from which the British occupation of the Atlantic seaboard proceeded.

The contrast in type was indeed marked. The southern type which prevailed from Maryland southward were for the most part of Cavalier sympathies. They were landowners, often younger sons of the landed gentry. They were planters, producing tobacco, Indian corn, rice, indigo, and cotton, largely by the aid of the labor of negro slaves. They had no very pronounced religious leaning, although Maryland was founded as a Roman Catholic refuge and in the main the planters belonged to the Church of England. The northern element sought to establish a theocracy, which indeed ultimately broke down but left marks upon New England institutions which continue to this day. Their preference was for independency. The New Englanders were often traders and seafaring men. Midway between New England and Virginia religion had again much to do with the establishment of the Quaker colony, Pennsylvania. So also the Scotch and Scotch-Irish Presbyterians came to the Middle States after the death of the great duke of Argyll. The Dutch colony of the New Netherlands, with its center at New Amsterdam, now New York, and the Swedish settlements on the Delaware were presently absorbed by the growing English and Scottish element. Germans also from the Palatinate and French Huguenots driven out by persecution were fused in the mass which presently, by the logic of the independence which the mother-country had always accorded them, began to feel themselves entitled to form a nation by themselves. It was this freedom which they already possessed and the fact that Great Britain had not yet thought through any

satisfactory theory of her colonial possessions which far more than any oppression and injustice brought on the War of the Revolution. In 1787, with the formation of the Northwest Territory under the so-called Connecticut Company, the peaceful invasion began of the regions to the west of the Appalachians and to the north of the Ohio River, an area of infinite possibilities to which the British had never made any effective claim and in which the French occupancy had been but shadowy. From the independence of the United States came the revolt of Spanish and Portuguese America and the grant by Great Britain to Canada of the amplest rights of self-government, which in the end have cemented the bond between northern North America and the mother-country. There was large immigration from Ireland after the famine in the forties and from Germany after the Revolution of 1848. These were, however, as nothing compared with the tide which set in at the end of the seventies, bringing men of every European race to our shores. The discovery of gold in California in 1849 and the building of the transcontinental railways, which soon followed, opened the country as far as the Pacific. The amalgamation of the races is still imperfect. The ascendancy of the Anglo-Saxon now in hopeless minority is one of the miracles of history. The Great War has done much for the fusion of races. The fire is under the melting-pot.

227. *Early missions among the Indians; John Eliot.*— It is not too much to say that the Pilgrim Fathers, devout men as they were, were not consumed with solicitude for the salvation of the souls of the red Indians. The Indians upon whose shores they had landed were

warlike. The Pilgrims were few in number and they too were good fighters. They intended to establish a commonwealth under the law of God. That law they found to a considerable degree in the Old Testament. It was easy for them to apprehend themselves as the Israel of Jehovah and the red men as the Canaanites who were to be subdued. Yet there were times of better relations of the settlers with the Indians and there were those among the Puritans who took a very different view. John Eliot, who had taken his degree at Jesus College in Cambridge in 1622 and who came to Boston in 1631, was the first to devote himself to the task of preaching the gospel to the Indians. Minister at Roxbury after 1632, he learned the dialects of the neighboring tribes. He first preached successfully to the Indians at Nonantum (Newton) in 1646. The Massachusetts General Court voted a small sum for the prosecution of Eliot's work. In 1649 the Long Parliament incorporated the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England, which henceforth supported and directed the work inaugurated by Eliot. The first appeal for aid brought contributions of £11,000. Cromwell devised a scheme for the setting up of a council for Protestant missions which should rival the Roman propaganda. In 1651 the Christian Indian town founded by Eliot was removed from Nonantum to Natick, where schools also were erected. Eliot's success moved the Mayhews, father and son, to establish similar missions on Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket. In many of the parishes, especially on Cape Cod, the ministers acted as missionaries to the Indians. By 1674 the unofficial census of the "praying Indians" numbered four thousand. Caleb Cheeshahteanmuck,

an Indian from Martha's Vineyard, graduated from Harvard College in 1665. He died in 1666. King Philip's War dealt a staggering blow to the missionary enterprise.

228. *Literary work; societies.*—Of wide influence was Eliot's work as translator of the Bible and of other books into the Massachusetts dialect of the Algonquin language. The first book completed was the Catechism, which was printed at Cambridge in 1653. It was the first book printed in an Indian language. The New Testament was issued in 1661. On the restoration of the monarchy in England and through the influence of Richard Baxter with the Lord Chancellor Hyde, the charter granted by Cromwell was renewed and its powers amplified. The corporation was now styled "The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England and parts adjacent to America." Its object was declared to be "not merely to seek the outward welfare of these colonies but more especially to endeavor the good of their immortal souls and the publishing of the most glorious gospel of Christ among them." On the list of the corporators the first name was that of Clarendon. Robert Boyle was appointed president. It was Boyle who assisted Eliot in the publication of his Testament. George Fox, the Quaker, wrote "to all Friends everywhere that have Indians or blacks, to preach the Gospel to them." To the efforts of various high prelates in the Church of England, including William Wade, the archbishop of Canterbury, and to the influence of Rev. Thomas Bray, who had worked long in Maryland, may perhaps be ascribed the founding in 1701 of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

229. *The Moravian missions.*—Bishop Berkeley, who from 1728 spent three years in Rhode Island, took deep interest in the Indians. In 1734 John Sargent, of Yale College, opened a school among the Housatonics. Jonathan Edwards, after his retirement from Northampton, devoted himself in part to work among the Indians at Stockbridge. He had been moved by personal intercourse with David Brainerd, who in 1742 had been appointed by the Scottish Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge to work among the Indians at Stockbridge and also at Albany. He labored also among the tribes on the Delaware River in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. He died in 1747 at the age of twenty-nine. His character and experience were deemed so remarkable that John Wesley wrote a memoir which was published at Bristol, England, in 1768. Both Dartmouth College in New Hampshire and Hamilton College in New York grew out of schools originally established for Indian youth. But the great work of the eighteenth century in this regard was done by the Moravians. They began their labor at Sharon, Connecticut, in 1742, the headquarters of the church having been established at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in 1740. The heroic personality was David Zeisberger. He worked among the Delawares at Shamokin and among the Iroquois at Onandaga, where the "Six Nations" made him a Sachem. He organized the effort of his denomination in North Carolina, in the New England provinces, and in Canada. His most successful settlements were in Ohio. Zeisberger left in manuscript grammars and lexicons which are almost our only source of knowledge of several of the Indian languages, widely spread in the eighteenth

century, which are now extinct. Similar work was done by Moravians in several of the islands of the Dutch and Danish and British West Indies.

230. *Government relations; nineteenth-century missions.*—After 1781 Congress began to provide for the education of Indian youth in various schools, especially for their education in agriculture and trades, and after 1783 began a system of reservation of public lands for the Indians. But neither the government's treatment of the tribes nor that of traders and settlers can be looked upon with pride. It is in the main a sordid and tragic page of history. The status of the Indian was uncertain. For a long time the tribes were looked upon as foreign nations with whom treaties were to be made. The Sioux are still not citizens. Again they were looked upon as wards of the nation to whom special protection was theoretically accorded but who had none of the rights and safety of citizens. The public conscience was spasmodically aroused. Official relations have been better within the last generation. But meantime the Indians have almost disappeared. The career of Marcus Whitman was one of perfect devotion to the Kayuse Indians in what is now the state of Washington. He with his family and ten other persons were murdered by these Indians in 1847. The thing for which Whitman is mainly remembered is the fact that in the winter of 1842–43 he rode on horseback from his station in the Columbia River country to St. Louis on his way to Washington to prevent the government from yielding the far northwest of what is now the United States to the British and the Hudson Bay Fur Trading Company.

Stephen Riggs spent forty-five years in active and successful work among the Dakotas and Sioux. He reduced the Dakota language to writing and translated into it almost the whole Bible. He lived to see ten churches organized among the tribesmen under native pastors. No man ever did more to bring order out of the confusion of the government's relation to the Indians than did Bishop Whipple of the Protestant Episcopal church in America. He was bishop of the see of Minnesota and early came into contact with these problems. The memorial which he presented to President Lincoln in 1862 is a historic document. His suggestions are believed to have led to the appointment by President Grant of the Indian Commission. Something similar should be said of Bishop Hare. William Duncan came to Fort Simpson in British Columbia in 1857 to establish a mission among the Tsimshian Indians. He organized his people into a civic community, accepting none who would not pledge themselves to the rules of the colony. He kept them apart from both the whites and the rest of the Indians. The trade and industries of the little community made it the envy of the surrounding country. Difficulties with the Canadian government led him to transfer his settlement to the territory of Alaska, where the United States assigned him Annette Island. The official name of the noteworthy colony was the Community of Metlakahtla. The commissioner of education in 1896 gave a striking account of the success of Duncan's venture. The Moravian missions among the Eskimos have at times achieved a situation resembling that of Metlakahtla in Duncan's time. But the contact with the outside world is perilous. Rarely do Indians

come up under this patriarchal régime who are able to cope with the great life of the world when this is forced upon them.

231. *Australia.*—There is little doubt that Spaniards under de Torres sailing from Callao saw the Australian coast in 1602. It is certain that Pelsaert, a Hollander sailing from Batavia, reached the west coast in 1629, and Tasman discovered and claimed Van Dieman's land in 1642. The island now bears the name Tasmania. Yet so little was known of this region that when in 1769 James Cook fitted out his ship the "Endeavor," primarily to observe the transit of Venus, he was expressly commissioned to ascertain "whether the unexplored part of the southern hemisphere be only an immense mass of water or contain another continent." The transit was observed from Tahiti. Cook landed in October at Poverty Bay on the coast of New Zealand and in April of the following year at a point which geographers now identify with Cape Everard in Australia. A British colony was sent to Botany Bay in 1788. The exploration of the interior was begun in 1813. It has been the task of a century, if indeed it can be said to be even now complete. Sydney was the first seat of government after 1788. Melbourne was founded in 1835. Several places on the coast were long used as criminal colonies. Gold was discovered in 1851 by a miner from California. The white population is about five million, almost exclusively of British origin. Labor legislation has here had an interesting history. The aborigines have had almost no part as workmen in the economic development of the country. There has been rooted objection to the presence of

Chinese laborers. Polynesians, however, have from time to time been brought in under a contract system. The number of aborigines surviving is hardly above fifty thousand. These peoples had no civilization whatsoever of their own and have been but slightly touched by the civilization of the whites. The London Missionary Society originated work among the Australian aborigines at Lake Macquarie in 1825, but the tribes among whom this work was prosecuted had practically become extinct before 1861. Gossner of the Berlin Society spent his life at Moreton and Keppel Bay. The migratory habits of the tribes and the influence of vicious whites broke up the work. The Moravians had at one time twenty-six stations on the Australian continent. The government aided them in maintaining reservations and schools. The Australian churches of various denominations have now inherited this task. The Bushmen do not adapt themselves to the life on the reservations and the number of those who have been Christianized is exceedingly small.

232. *New Zealand.*—Christian work upon New Zealand has a very different history. The natives are of Malay origin and superior both mentally and physically to any others of the inhabitants of the Pacific islands. Samuel Marsden, a clergyman of the Church of England, chaplain of the penal colony at Port Jackson in Australia in 1807, was so struck by the character and ability of certain Maoris who had been brought to his settlement that he persuaded the Church Missionary Society to undertake a mission to New Zealand. The work was inaugurated in 1814, several Maoris who knew English, one of them a chief, accompanying Marsden

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and interpreting for him. Such progress was made that George Selwyn, a Cambridge man, was consecrated Bishop of New Zealand in 1841. In 1843 he established, at Auckland, St. John's College for the education of a native ministry among the islanders. He realized the necessity of using native laborers for pioneer work. He himself was able to supervise their training, having early mastered several dialects. He left some interesting studies in comparative grammar. From the first he insisted that St. John's College should give instruction in medicine. Not content with the rapid growth of the work in New Zealand, he provided a ship and before his first return to England in 1854 he had made several long voyages, visiting fifty of the Melanesian Islands. From ten of these he induced youth to go to his college to prepare for work as evangelists among their own peoples. He took a prominent part in organizing the Australian Board of Missions and secured the adoption by the Church of Australia of the Melanesian Mission as its peculiar field. Selwyn spent twenty-seven years in Australasia, and when finally induced in 1868 by the Archbishop of Canterbury to accept the bishopric of Litchfield it was with the hope that with his remaining years he might render his greatest service of all by enabling the Church of England, the British government and people, to see its opportunity through missions for the Christianization of the world. Not the least of those things which the world owes him was the fact that when he preached his farewell sermon before leaving England for the first time his words so moved a boy of fourteen who was among his hearers that fourteen years later, returning to his

field after his first furlough, he took with him as a missionary that youth, an Oxford man, John Coleridge Patteson, who later became the martyr bishop of Melanesia. Selwyn had said, "I seem to see a nation born in a day." Not long afterward war broke out in the islands occasioned by the struggle with the settlers concerning land. The old superstitions seemed again to claim the Maoris. Whitely, a Wesleyan who had given his life to the people, was shot in 1869. Labor conditions and the influx of foreigners in more recent years have affected the Maoris unfavorably. There are thought to be still some forty thousand Maoris, of whom half are Christian adherents.

233. *Melanesia.*—We spoke of Patteson. He was a relative of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, educated at Eton and Balliol, after 1852 a Fellow of Merton. For five years he aided Selwyn in his educational work for the native assistants. In 1861 he was made bishop of the Melanesian Islands. He reduced to writing several of the languages. He translated parts of the New Testament into these languages. He made his headquarters at Motu in the northern New Hebrides. Thence he made many voyages to the other islands of his diocese in his ship, the "Southern Cross." He was not merely a preacher and teacher. He was interested in the economic and industrial conditions of his people, which were fast changing since the coming of the whites. He often navigated his own ship. He lost his life in a manner which is worthy of record. The traders engaged in the nefarious traffic in Kaneka labor for Fiji and Queensland had taken to personating missionaries in order to facilitate their kidnapping. In September,

1871, Patteson approaching Nakapu on one of his periodical tours was mistaken for one of these marauders and killed. His murderers evidently found out their mistake and regretted it. The bishop's body was found far out at sea floating in a canoe covered with a palm-fiber matting and with a palm branch in his hand. He is thus represented in the bas-relief erected at Merton College in his memory. He was forty-four years old. He had been a famous oarsman in his college days. Scarcely less notable is the career of John Paton, who also gave his life to the New Hebrides. Paton was a Scotchman from the neighborhood of Dumfries. He was of humble origin and overcame great difficulties in gaining his education. He went out in 1858 to Anietyum, where there was already a mission under John Geddie of the Presbyterian church of Nova Scotia. Geddie and his colleagues, after perilous beginnings, had transformed the island, which ten years before had been inhabited by naked cannibals, into the abode of a Christian community. Under the parental oversight of the Scottish missionaries and the absolute authority of three chiefs there had been organized a society in which the gospel was really the law of every relation of the life of these simple people. Paton and his wife narrowly escaped drifting upon Tanna, where at that time they certainly would have been killed at once by the natives. These latter were sufficiently warlike but now had been roused to fury by the robbery and rape and murder to which they had been subjected by crews of vessels who in those remote regions had allowed themselves every excess in dealing with the helpless savages. Later the Patons worked upon Tanna

and again upon Aniwa the same miracle which Geddie and his compeers had wrought at Anietyum. When Paton visited the United States and England in 1892, as he had already visited Australia, it was in the effort to arouse sentiment in these countries against the liquor trade, the contract labor system, and the traffic in girls, which was fast destroying the fruit of the labor of his devoted life. One lifetime had sufficed to see his islanders raised from primitive savagery to the virtues of children in a devout home and then again demoralized and corrupted by the contagion of all the vices and crimes wherein civilized man so far outdoes the barbarian and descends below the beast.

234. *Polynesia; Society and Hervey Islands; Williams.*—We have followed the geographical line of the development of this history as it led from the great territories of Australia and New Zealand. In point of time there were missions in the island world which were much older than these in the New Hebrides. In some of these cases the development of the Christian communities was less disturbed because the islands had lain farther from the lines of trade. It is not known that any white man before John Williams ever reached the Hervey Islands, while the inhabitants of the New Hebrides had been subject to the abuse of passing traders for seventy years. Williams was born near London in 1796. At the age of twenty he offered himself to the London Missionary Society to be sent to the South Seas. He was stationed first at one of the Society Islands. Afterward at the invitation of the king he went to Raiatea, the largest island of the group, which henceforth became his headquarters. His success was

remarkable. He laid the foundation of the ordered life of the community as well as of the Christian church. In 1823 he was permitted by the king to visit the Hervey Islands. He took with him six native teachers and landed first on Rarotonga. Here he was even more successful. All the islands became nominally Christian. Williams at their request helped the people to draw up a code of laws for civil administration. In educational as well as in religious work he made use of native teachers whom he had trained. He translated portions of the Scripture into the language of the islands. Rarotonga being out of the usual course of vessels, he built a ship which he named the "Messenger of Peace." In 1830 he visited the Samoan Islands and in 1832 he established there a permanent work. The inhabitants of these islands had borne an evil name for their ferocity. In less than two years the whole life of the islands had been changed. All the interests of the people were submitted to the guidance of the missionary, who at the end of that period was able to leave them with measurably competent leaders of their own race. In 1834 Williams returned to England much impaired in health. He raised money for the purchase and equipment of a proper ship for the Polynesian service and laid plans for the establishment of a college for native preachers and teachers at Tahiti. He had written a *Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands*, which remains to this day one of the authoritative sources of information concerning the languages, customs, and religion of the Polynesians as they were at the time when white men first came into contact with them. Incidentally it is the

revelation of a most courageous, resourceful, and cheerful personality. Returning to the scene of his old labors in 1838, Williams was drawn as by a magnet to the point of greatest difficulty, the New Hebrides. He pushed on in 1839 with one companion to Erromanga. He was murdered almost immediately upon landing on that island.

235. *The Sandwich Islands; Hawaii.*—Captain Cook named these islands, discovered in 1778, in honor of the Earl of Sandwich. There are eight islands of considerable area of which Hawaii is by far the largest. The aboriginal inhabitants belonged to the Malayo-Polynesian race. They were of superior physique, hardy, and industrious. Cook estimated their number at four hundred thousand. That figure was probably far too large. The census in 1832 showed only a hundred and thirty thousand. There are now hardly twenty-five thousand. On the other hand, there is a considerable number of men of mixed race and there are great numbers of foreigners—Portuguese from the Azores and Madeira, Spaniards from the sugar islands about Malaga, Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans, besides the Americans. King Kamehameha in 1795 made John Young and Isaac Davis, Americans from one of the ships of Captain Metcalf, his advisers and encouraged trade with foreigners. Thus began the efforts of the native sovereigns to transform the government and civilization of the island kingdom more or less after the pattern of European states. The imagination of Mills and Hall had been touched by their contact with Obookiah, a Hawaiian Island lad who, escaping after the murder of his family, had been brought by a friendly

sea captain to New Haven and who was found weeping upon the steps of the college. It was not until 1819 that the first mission was sent to Hawaii by the American Board. In this original group there were two clergymen, Hiram Bingham and Thurston, two teachers, a physician, a printer, and a farmer, besides three young islanders who like Obookiah had been educated at Cornwall, Connecticut. An English missionary of the London Society, William Ellis from the Society Islands, aided the Americans in their first attempts to reduce the language of Hawaii to writing. In 1823 came seven more missionaries and three more Hawaiian youth from the Cornwall school. In 1824 both the king and the queen, visiting England, died there. The young prince who was to succeed to the throne was committed to the missionaries to be educated. The regent was a woman of high character. She and her ministers were favorable to the missionary cause. Their educational work was so successful that scarcely a native was left who was unable to read and write. In 1825 the Ten Commandments were recognized by the king as the basis of a code of laws. By agreement of the chiefs the observance of Sunday was ordered. Religious work was especially successful in the island of Hilo, where Titus Coan worked after 1835. By 1888 the church on that island had become self-supporting and sent missionaries to the Gilbert Islands and to the Marquesas.

Here also the increase in the importation of liquor into the islands, most of it brought by American ships, wrought havoc among the population. The visits of women of the island to the ships lying in the harbor

spread every kind of evil. There grew up a body of adventurous spirits who exploited the more or less uncertain rule of the island potentates for their own benefit. There was trouble with the French government in 1842 touching matters of trade and also concerning the privileges of Roman Catholic missionaries. Advantage was taken of the situation in the rashness of a British naval officer, who sought to induce the king to cede the islands to Great Britain. Through the tact, however, of Richards, an American missionary who had been sent by the king to Europe to plead his cause, the independence of the Hawaiian nation was in 1843 formally acknowledged. In 1826 there were twenty-five thousand scholars in the mission schools. In 1839 the work of translating the whole Bible was finished by Bingham. It is worthy of note that his son, Hiram Bingham, Jr., completed and published in 1908 the translation of the whole Scripture into the language of the Gilbert Islands. The generation from 1843 till 1874 was the best period of the islands under native rule, as it was also the period of the greatest achievement of the Christian movement in the circle of the native population. In 1863 the American Board transferred its interests to the Hawaiian Evangelical Association, a body composed in part of the descendants of foreigners, mainly Americans, long resident in the islands and in part of representatives of the indigenous race converted to Christianity. Christians of many races resident in the islands but especially of the race which Cook had found there as naked savages were now joined in an organization which was able to meet the religious needs of the islands themselves and also to

take responsibility for the furtherance of the cause of the gospel in other islands and even in China.

With the alternation of constitutionalism and reaction in the government and with the somewhat sordid history of the rivalries of various nations for the possession of the growing trade of the islands and finally of the islands themselves this sketch has little to do. Neither Europeans nor Americans emerge from the struggle without stain. The dynasty declined in vigor in a degree even more rapid than that which was observable in the case of the native stock as a whole. Meantime the islands had come to be at the very crossroads of the commerce of the Pacific. The ambitions of the king, Kalakaua, brought him near to conflict with the great powers, yet he was finally overthrown in 1887 by a revolution of his own people. Under his successor, Queen Liliuokalani, intervention of the United States came about in the familiar manner under the plea that subjects of that government must be protected. There was a provisional government and after that a Hawaiian republic under the presidency of Samuel B. Dole In 1895 the Queen renounced all claim to the throne and took the oath of allegiance to the republic. In 1898 sovereignty was formally transferred to the United States. This consummation was desired by many, chiefly Americans, in the islands. Desire on the part of the United States had been suddenly much enhanced by the fact that in that summer, 1898, the United States had come into the possession of the Philippines. The Christian communities of the native stock had had their best days when under a kind of patriarchal guidance and in the simpler conditions

which at first obtained. They had found extraordinarily difficult the maintenance of the Christian life in the midst of the complex conditions which make Christian life difficult in America and England as well. Yet neither the amazing achievement of the missions in Hawaii in the first two generations nor the participation of Hawaiian Christians in the world's work at this present moment can be forgotten. The lot of Hawaii is typical of the history of almost all the islands. It awakens sentiments alike of admiration and of poignant regret for results which in part at least not even the efforts of the most heroic souls have been able to prevent. Time would fail to tell of the work which has been done upon the Fiji Islands and Samoa in the earlier days or again upon the Gilberts and Marshalls and Carolines in more recent times. For some reason the physique of the Fiji Islanders seems to have endured the contact with the white man's civilization better than that of any other of the islanders. Christian life and institutions seem also to have been more permanent here than elsewhere. There are more than a thousand churches in the islands and five-sixths of the non-European population are reported by the census of 1910 as having some relation to the Wesleyan or Roman Catholic churches.

CONCLUSION

Two broad contrasts emphasized by the war have special bearing upon the problem discussed in this book. They appear to be the immediately urgent aspects of Christianization to which nations, churches, and individuals must address themselves. The first might be described in the phrase, the altruism of nations. This quality was displayed during the war. It will assuredly be enjoined in the peace which is to follow. The war began with the invasion of the territory of a small nation by the armies of a powerful neighbor. Cities of the former were destroyed, its lands occupied, its resources appropriated, its people oppressed. The indignation everywhere aroused had something to do with the arraying, at last, of almost the whole world against the aggressor. The sentiment thus created spread far beyond its application to the particular case involved. The assertion of the rights of smaller nations, the guaranty of the privilege of free development to less powerful peoples, the protection and assistance of backward races—phrases like these became watchwords in the long struggle. These ideas, along with the hope of doing away with some, at least, of the conditions which have occasioned wars, animated masses of men and women in every country and sustained them in their deeds and sufferings. The fulfilment of such ideals in time of peace will prove far more difficult than was their enunciation in time of war. Yet, should there be a falling off from these high purposes, should the victors

return to the old petty and paltry basis of mere selfish territorial and economic aggrandizement, surely this would be a betrayal of ends for which men gladly laid down their lives. On the other hand, aspirations have thus been quickened in the hearts of peoples who manifest few of the qualities without which representative government cannot exist. It is easy to assume the name of a constitutional monarchy or to declare a republic. In these difficult times there is not much in a name. The fine balance between self-assertion and self-restraint in the conduct of individuals, of parties, or of classes has been the fruit of centuries of costly experience and stern discipline in those free governments which have attained permanence. The illusion only too easily obtains that it can be achieved tomorrow by peoples delivered from virtual servitude but yesterday. Furthermore, by the claim that oppressed peoples and backward races are now to come by their own, ancient jealousies and historic animosities have been revived. Peoples mutually hostile have been in time past held together in some kind of unity, often against their own will, by imperial régimes which have now passed away. The ancient hatreds flame up only the more.

Guardianships exercised, so to say, under mandate of humanity as a whole, by the greater nations on behalf of others suggest themselves as the best solution of the difficulty. Such mandates, if they can really be brought to pass, will represent a new stage in the contacts of nations. They will create new and better conditions under which the assimilation of peoples to a common type of life and civilization may take place. Such mandates are however likely at first to be looked at

askance by peoples who are to be put in ward. These fear that under the new and high-sounding title only the old exploitation of the helpless is to be resumed. On the other hand, a mandatory such as is here contemplated will surely be onerous and difficult. It will involve great sacrifice on the part of the nations exercising it. Finally both parties ask, Will there be a real and effective League of Nations under which such difficult relations between nations may be in good faith begun, continued, and in due time ended, to the honor of all concerned? Yet surely, unless the world advances along some such lines as are here laid down, it will have fought the war to some extent in vain. It will have given men opportunity without doing anything to help them to avail themselves of that opportunity. It will have removed old outward restraints without having substituted mutual respect and helpfulness. The war awakened great numbers of men in many nations to sentiments to which they had before been largely strangers. There was an enthusiasm for humanity as a whole and a purpose for the bestowal upon all who need them of the best gifts which the most fortunate nations possess. This elevated popular feeling of the time of war runs risk of lacking that kind of leadership in peace without which it will fail of its best results.

This assertion, however, of national duty and corporate responsibility of one people toward another, to be exercised in political and economic ways, suggests the other point which we had singled out for mention. It suggests that proclivity for mass movements, that instinctive resort to force and occasional lapse into violence, which manifests itself, even more readily

among victors than among vanquished, in the sequel of a long war. No matter how earnestly men may have fought for an ideal, these dangerous tendencies, which set in with the approach of peace, are strangely liable to concern themselves mainly with wages and prices and the utmost speed in the return of material prosperity. There is some reason for this. No war ever destroyed wealth and suspended productive labor as this war has done. When any nation has been reduced to the point at which it has to be fed and clothed by another, the kind of effort conventionally called missionary may have to be postponed for an interval. Yet civilization will never be restored by the re-creation of this physical basis alone. Moreover, not alone in stricken nations are the physical wants the ones which are at first overwhelmingly felt. In victorious nations, for an opposite reason, the same material necessities are the ones which, in alarming degree, assume the upper hand. Here the war has impoverished some. Others it has enriched. It has enriched some by the mere fact that they were, in the crisis, sordid and unscrupulous enough to make gain out of the sufferings of their fellows. Trade must indeed be resumed with additional eagerness to cover losses. But, far beyond this, passions are aroused by possibilities of gain hitherto unimagined.

No war ever was to such an extent dependent upon the industries. The morale of labor was fully as important as was that of the troops. In the moments of greatest stress the working classes, with all of their devotion to their respective national causes, yet demanded and secured concessions for which they might otherwise have waited long. They came out of the

war with these solid gains and also with an intense class consciousness which tends to destroy, by cleavage in a new direction, a unity of society which the struggle of nations had achieved. Political questions have suddenly become questions of class and economic adjustment. There is something portentous in the isolation in which, for the moment, these questions appear to stand, and in the disregard, for the moment, of all other aims, so only these are secured. If the situation thus described stares us in the face even in rich America, there is no wonder that it obtains in Great Britain and on the Continent. Japan and India and China, South Africa and Australia, suffer these same disturbances. In Turkey even the magnates whom the massacres enriched show the same shocking excesses. The subject populations, whom the war incredibly impoverished, will show them so soon as their present question, that of being protected in the right to be alive at all, shall have found a passable solution. For one and all of these peoples, just as for our ourselves, the recovery even of those sources of happiness which life offered them before and, still more, the advance to those which we believe the war has made possible, demands far more than money and ease. It requires the rebuilding of all those agencies which are the guardians of learning and of charity and of faith. It requires the turning of men's minds again to the pursuit of truth, to the exercise of mercy, to the cultivation of religion. Nothing is so necessary in Europe and America at the present moment as the reassertion, in new power and majesty, of the moral values and the spiritual ideals. How can we suppose that it is otherwise with the nations which the war has brought within the

infection of our own evil, and likewise under the influence of our good, as never before. Of the dissemination of such good, however, only individuals who set themselves this high task are the effective instruments. Only ardent minds and eager souls can reach and, under God, transform minds and souls.

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